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NEAR EAST/NORTH AFRICA REPORT

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

BRIEFS

ISRAEL, EGYPT ROBBERY AGREEMENT--Israel has begun paving a road along the southern border from Rafah to Tabah. The work is being done by private contracts and the IDF Engineers Corps and it will be completed within 3 years. Our military correspondent Hayim Ravia reports that the commander of the Southern Command, Maj Gen Hayim Erez, and the Egyptian governor of northern Sinai have recently concluded an agreement about equipment robberies. According to that agreement, stolen equipment carried across the border would be returned to its owner. Our correspondent further points out that people caught crossing the border not in order to conduct hostile terrorist activities would be returned within 8 hours. [Text] [TA021628 Tel Aviv IDF Radio in Hebrew 1558 GMT 2 Jun 82]

ISRAELI DELEGATION TO CAIRO--Tel Aviv, 6 Jun--A delegation of correspondents, members of the Judaea and Samaria cell of the Correspondents Union in Jerusalem, left today for Cairo, at the invitation of the Egyptian Government. The delegation will meet with leaders of the Egyptian Government, with those in charge of the Palestinian issue and with senior reporters. [Text] [TA061036 Tel Aviv ITIM in Hebrew 1150 GMT 6 Jun 82]

CSO: 4400/299

INTER-ARAB AFFAIRS

AMIR RECEIVES FORMER LEBANESE PRIME MINISTER

GF051154 Manama Domestic Service in Arabic 1030 GMT 5 Jun 82

[Text] His Highness the Amir Shaykh 'Isa Ibn Salman Al Khalifah received at Government House at 1030 today Dr Amin al-Hafiz, former Lebanese prime minister and chairman of the Parliamentary committee for External Affairs at the Lebanese National Assembly, who paid a courtesy call on the occasion of his visit to Bahrain. The meeting was attended by Prime Minister Shaykh Khalifah Ibn Salman al Khalifah and Foreign Affairs Minister Shaykh Muhammad Ibn Mubarak al Khalifah.

WAKH has quoted Dr Amin al-Hafiz as saying that he was honored to meet the amir and that he reviewed with him and the prime minister issues concerning the Arab world in general and the Lebanese crisis in particular. He added that the discussions during the meeting concentrated on the threats to Lebanon, especially the Israeli aggression yesterday, and the means to confront this aggression, and alliance and unified actions of Arabs to resist the Zionist danger. He affirmed that the sufferings of Lebanon are due to the presence of Israel and its continuous aggression against the Arab nation.

The former Lebanese prime minister concluded his statement by saying that any solution to the Lebanese problem, especially the problem southern Lebanon should be linked with eliminating the direct or indirect Israeli military or political presence in that region so that peace and stability can prevail in Lebanon under a legitimate government.

Dr Amin al-Hafiz arrived in Bahrain yesterday on a visit that will last for a few days.

CSO: 4400/304

INTER-ARAB AFFAIRS

BRIEFS

MINISTER RECEIVES FATAH OFFICIAL--Abu Dhabi, 7 Jun (WAM)--UAE Information and Cultural Minister Ahmad Ibn Hamid today received Palestinian Fatah Revolutionary Council member Fu'ad ash-Shubaki. The meeting was attended by Fayiz Mutawi', who is in charge of the PLO office in the UAE. During the meeting they discussed means of explaining the dimensions of the Israeli aggression against the Palestinian and Lebanese peoples, together with clarifying the courageous resistance shown by the joint Palestinian-Lebanese forces in the confrontation of the Israeli tyrannical invasion. Ash-Shubaki expressed the gratitude of the Palestinian revolution to the role played by the UAE information media in this field. [Text] [GF071336 Abu Dhabi WAM in Arabic 1300 GMT 7 Jun 82]

CSO: 4400/304

SYMPOSIUM COMPLETES STUDIES ON GULF COOPERATION DEVELOPMENTS

Kuwait AL-RA'Y AL-'AMM in Arabic 21 Apr 82 pp 5, 7

/Article: "Completion of the Activities of the Symposium on Developments in Gulf Cooperation: Review of the General Features of Manpower in the Gulf Countries"/

/Text/ The symposium on new developments in cooperation in the Arab Gulf in its local and international contexts concluded its activities yesterday, the third day of meetings.

Dr Nadir Farjani of the Arab Planning Institute presented research on the manpower problem in the Gulf and the dimensions of that.

Dr Farjani defined the general framework in which his research has revolved in the points of development and manpower development. In his view, this development is embodied in a structural change in the socioeconomic order, including a development in the local structure in a manner leading to a continuous rise in people's standard of living.

The research dealt with manpower conditions in the Gulf countries and expectations regarding it. It then reviewed the broad features of manpower in the developing countries /and/ after that the characteristics of the Gulf countries in this area. At the end of his research paper, he also reviewed cooperation among council countries in the manpower area and stated that the advantages of cooperation in socioeconomic activities between more than one social entity are based on two main foundations, integration of the resources required for socioeconomic activities among the cooperating parties, even though the activity's productive competence may be low.

The Council's Political and Strategic Context

Dr 'Abdallah al-Nafisi gave a research work on the political and strategic context of the Gulf Cooperation Council. He said "The United States of America views the Gulf and Peninsula area as a major source of the energy which supplies industry in the United States and Europe, especially the member countries of the Atlantic Alliance, with the fuel needed for their continued development. Therefore cutting off the supply of this fuel to America and its allies will certainly contribute to the collapse of the economy of the capitalist world. In addition to that, the

Gulf and the Peninsula, in the words of Brzezinski, the former American national security advisor, is to be considered the third central strategic area of vital importance to the United States in the international military balance. The Gulf's importance to the United States is strategic as well as economic. To all that one should add the United States' success in recycling oil revenues to the point where the Gulf area has become an open market for all American heavy and light industries. We can give as an example the dependence of the military institutions in the Gulf countries--which by the way constitute one of the areas of government spending that drain oil revenues the most--on imports of arms from the United States. In the Saudi Kingdom, for instance, the Ministry of Defense's allocations in the second 5-year plan (1975-80) were more than 78 billion Saudi riyals, that is, in excess of 16 times more than allocations to the development of agriculture and agricultural projects in this plan. Joseph Chourba (a senior American Air Force advisor for intelligence matters dealing with the Middle East) says that among the American policy goals derived from its exports of arms in the massive volumes the Gulf area is witnessing are 'Preservation of a strategic outlet to the region, a security outlet to its oil resources, co-optation of local struggles, economic development, constant social progress, protection of American investments, development of American trade, preservation of cultural relations with the peoples of the area and the effort to expand them.'

"There is no doubt that what are known as the Gulf countries' financial surpluses are now hostages to the Western countries, headed by the United States; it has reached the point where the Gulf countries have become concerned, sometimes more than America itself, for the stability of the dollar, because any deterioration in the value of the dollar will lead to a real deterioration in these reserves. Most of these astronomical figures on the Gulf financial reserves are estimated in dollars, prompting the Saudi oil minister, Ahmad Zaki Yamani, to state, in a lecture he gave to students at Riyadh University:

"We have an interest in not acting in any manner that will lead to further deterioration in the dollar. This explains Saudi Arabia's position on the subject of the dollar; although it conflicts with the positions of other oil producing countries, it is derived from Saudi interests."

The American Concept of Gulf Security

"Therefore the United States has formed a special concept of Gulf security which is linked organically and fundamentally to its interests in the area and not necessarily to the interests of the area. Thus has the American conception of Gulf security developed, along with the development of American political administrations, from the Eisenhower doctrine to the Nixon doctrine, the Carter doctrine and the Reagan doctrine. All these doctrines ultimately are devoted to guaranteeing that existing conditions are sanctified, that the vise is tightened around the peoples in the area, that the connection between the Gulf countries and the capitalist market is strengthened, and that alliances are established. The United States benefited greatly from the circumstances of the Iraq-Iran war, when it announced on 30 September 1980 that it had sent four airborne radar /craft/ of the AWACS variety to Saudi Arabia to protect the oilwells in the region. The American Department of Defense declared that it would 'honor requests for help from friends

that were not involved in the Iraq-Iran war if they felt threatened by the struggle.' Reagan's administration is not content with rapid deployment forces and the acquisition of what are called facilities in Egypt, Oman, Somalia, the Sudan and Kenya. Rather, Reagan stressed in his first press conference in the White House that the United States also needs a presence on the ground, that is, a system of fixed bases in the Gulf and areas bordering on the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean. Thus it is apparent to us that the United States' goals in the Gulf may be summarized as follows:

- "1. Control over the oil and massive natural resources that have not yet been explored.
- "2. Consecration of the subordination of Western Europe and Japan to the United States because of reliance by Western Europe and Japan on Gulf oil.
- "3. A freeze on oil prices and increased oil production (note in particular Saudi oil policies from this angle).
- "4. Prevention of the use of the oil weapon as a political weapon or its mobilization for the goals of urgently needed local development.
- "5. Prevention of the occurrence of a political change in the region. Brzezinski, the former American national security advisor, says 'The Gulf region faces an increasing threat arising from its local regimes' inability to stand firm in the face of the pressures of modernization /on the one hand/ and the wave of threats from the Islamic revival on the other.' He concluded with the statement that the United States must rise to the task of creating the requisite stability.

The Soviet View of the Gulf

"The Soviet view of the Gulf is derived from the Gulf's geographic situation and its character as a vital route for a vital strategic commodity which its adversary (the United States) uses. The Gulf area is also an outlet to warm water.

The Council Countries' Position on the Iraq-Iran War

"The position of the council countries is characterized by almost total neutrality on the Iraq-Iran war, in spite of some member countries' attempts to play the role of a junior partner in the war. This war between Iraq and Iran has been going on for about a year, and they are two Gulf countries. While the position of 'neutrality' the council countries are pursuing with regard to the two parties to the struggle seems justified for one reason or another, this neutrality does not mean the rupture of all connections to the struggle itself or the failure seriously to seek to contain it.

"The council countries, like it or not, are objectively concerned with this war and the results that will accrue from it, and the consequences it will produce will inevitably directly affect political and security conditions in the council countries. It is true that the Iraq-Iran war has so far continued to revolve within its context, restricted to the borders of the two belligerent countries,

but what guarantee is there that the continuation of this war will not at some point be reflected in a violent manner on the council countries as a whole? Moral obligation, not to speak of geopolitical obligation, makes it mandatory that the council countries make more serious efforts with the two parties to the struggle, with the aid of international parties or authorities, to put a limit to this war, from which only the United States and its allies in the region are profiting.

The Political Security of Cooperation Council Countries

"If there is a determination on the part of the council countries to deal firmly with the issue of political security--and we hope that there is--it becomes necessary to state what notion of political security we are talking about, since numerous diverse notions of political security exist. Some political regimes imagine that political security can be achieved only through 'night visitors,' surveillance, espionage, wiretapping, pursuit in the streets, eviction and the political and social isolation of all people with contrary opinions or political opponents. This notion is deeply marked by political primitivism. Political developments in the modern world have proved that regimes that base themselves on this primitive notion do not succeed in maintaining their political security--indeed, what happens is exactly the opposite; this notion has hastened the demise of many political regimes because it participated effectively in implanting political anxiety and ripening political crisis and hastened the growth of tension in political relations in the political community, thus leading to this accumulated momentum, growing in tension, toward an early explosion. This is exactly what happened in the Iran of the Shah and the regime of the Shah. Another concept of political security is founded on the technique of using the gloved fist to stifle the opposition. This notion is founded on surveillance, censorship, espionage and the attempt to implicate opposition symbols in disgraceful causes and spread about gossip and rumors defaming opposition personalities, while at the same time controlling the political contents of the media and weaving a glowing picture of the political system, while using indirect repression by tightening up on jobs, professions and living standards. Third world regimes can isolate political opposition elements, in view of the absence of enlightened public opinion and coherent popular political institutions.

"The third and final notion of political security is that which tries to deal with the roots of social protest and political polarization through direct political contact with the people. By direct political contact with the people I mean not ceremonial meetings at weddings and funerals but meetings with a serious political dialogue which transcends and exceeds all inhibitions imposed by timidity and embarrassment. It is very important that this direct contact with the people have a substance which will lead to proper results and not just preservation of proper forms and appearances lacking in proper political substance. In this situation, it is also necessary that this direct contact with the people have vehicles and institutions that enjoy respect, possess credibility and effectiveness and constitute political substance for the political regime in the long range. Political regimes that have based themselves on this notion have thereby proved that they are dealing with the issue of political security from roots up. We ask, What is the position of the Cooperation Council countries in this broad theoretical

definition of the notions of political security? In my estimation, the first concept applies to some, the second concept applies to others, but none of them have yet reached the third concept.

"The issue of the political security of Cooperation Council countries in my estimation is the main one in light of the existing data. Dealing with that will require a timely review of many domestic policies. The commercial, media, educational and administrative situation and the policies followed in these areas all need review.

Essential Problems the Cooperation Council Countries Are Suffering from

"The six Cooperation Council countries are suffering from a series of essential problems which one can expect will of course have a negative effect on the success of the Cooperation Council in its present format. The gravity of these problems arises from their essential, crucial nature on the one hand and the fact that they are common to the societies, economies and politics of all the member countries of the Cooperation Council. These problems may not at present seem to have a strong conspicuous effect on the context of the Cooperation Council, because it is still passing through its formative stage. However, it is anticipated that the members will face circumstances in the future that are less suitable than the present ceremonial ones when the council comes up against the wall of these essential problems, which one might describe as follows:

- "1. Economic subordination to the capitalist world.
- "2. Political backwardness in the context of political power.
- "3. Defense policy and its connection to American strategy.
- "4. The aggravation of the population problem.
- "5. Stagnation of border problems.

Economic Subordination of Council Countries to the Capitalist World

"The Cooperation Council countries possess the highest degree of subordination to the capitalist world of all the countries of the world. Their economies are fundamentally based on the production and export of a single commodity, oil, while they import all their consumer and capital commodity requirements from abroad. This applies even to manpower, which comes from abroad. Continued prosperity in the Cooperation Council countries is based essentially on export and import activity--the exportation of oil and the importation of all requirements. This activity is organically linked to the capitalist world. It is not difficult to measure the Cooperation Council countries subordination to the capitalist world arithmetically; much economic literature has dealt with this subject through research and thorough examination. There are numerous indices that measure economic subordination:

"First is the index of the degree of economic exposure to the outer world, which represents the extent of the importance of exports and imports relative to gross domestic product. The economic exposure index rose in Kuwait, for example, from 92 percent in 1970 to 101 percent in 1974, in Saudi Arabia from 88 to 100 percent, and in Oman from 95 to 112 percent. However, the greatest degree of economic exposure in the Gulf is in the state of the emirates, where this index came to 142 percent in 1970 and /missing/ percent in 1974.

"Second is the index of the importance of exports in local production. If we cast a quick glance at the figures on the Cooperation Council countries' exports, we will get a clear notion of the degree of reliance of these countries' economies on export activity; the ratio of exports to gross domestic product in 1970 ranged from 100 percent in the state of Qatar to 94 percent in the state of the emirates, 59 percent in Saudi Arabia, 63 percent in Kuwait and 75 percent in Oman. It should be noted that the ratio of exports to domestic product increased perceptibly with the great increase in oil prices in 1973.

"Third is the index of the commodity concentration of exports, which measures the degree of concentration on the exportation of a single commodity or a very small number of commodities. Although this index reaches an absurd point, as is the case with all the indices of the Cooperation Council countries, it does constitute an index of subordination, because, as Dr Karam asserts in his valuable research work 'A country where the export of one or two commodities accounts for more than 60 or 70 percent of the total exports (in the oil countries more than 90 percent) comes to occupy a position which will not permit it to resist the hostile measures to which some country (or a group of countries) may resort and to shift quickly enough to the production and export of other commodities if traditional commercial channels are severed because of the outbreak of war, economic boycott or similar unusual circumstances.'

"Fourth, the index of reliance on a major export commodity for the country's revenues. It is to be observed that the Cooperation Council countries' revenues rely on one export commodity for more than 90 percent /of these revenues/, and this is an index of economic subordination.

"Fifth, the index of the export of the main commodity in raw form. This index gives us a clear idea of the behavior of Western countries, which have erected oil refineries close to their markets in spite of the economic advantages in erecting them close to the areas of oil production. How is it that the oil-producing countries have not yet been able to refine and process more than a minor amount of their oil output, which for the most part is still exported in crude form? Four Gulf countries (out of six) in 1976 exported from 94 percent of their oil in crude form (Saudi Arabia) to 99.8 percent (Qatar). The Arab Emirates exported 99.4 percent of their oil in its crude form. Only Bahrain did not export any of its oil in crude form. Kuwait improved its situation somewhat, exporting only 83.5 percent of its oil in crude form. This gives us a clear idea of the oil countries' remoteness from the goal of attaining control over the oil industry in its various stages.

"Sixth, the index of the geographical concentration of exports. The higher the index of geographical concentration of exports in a country is, the more likely that country is to be affected by decisions outside its control.

"Seventh, the index of the geographical concentration of imports. The higher this index is, the more exposed the country will be to hostile measures on the part of its commercial partners or to the effects of sudden international crises, especially if the imports that are cut off are of great importance, such as foodstuffs,

capital goods and technology--as is the case with respect to the goods the Arab Gulf countries import.

"Eighth, is the index of technological subordination, which is by far the most important one. The Cooperation Council countries suffer from total subordination to the West in this field."

At this point, the symposium concluded its activities yesterday.

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CSO: 4404/458

ECONOMIC EXPERT WARNS OF EFFECTS OF INFLATION ON INVESTMENTS

Kuwait AL-RA'Y AL-'AMM in Arabic 21 Apr 82 p 11

/Article: "Dr Hazim al-Biblawi: Gulf Investments Must Be Provided from the Threat of Inflation abroad"/

/Text/ Dr Hazim al-Biblawi, the Industrial Bank economic expert, has offered numerous ideas and studies on financial and monetary policies abroad. The issue of Gulf monetary cooperation has attracted increasing attention from him, especially with the establishment of the Gulf Cooperation Council: it is his view that while the shift of financial assets from one region to another creates a change in the conditions of the wealthy and incomes among regions in a manner that changes the behavior of individuals in all of them and helps realize /word missing/ in economic relations, he nonetheless sees practical obstacles to monetary unification. In the event there is monetary unification among a number of countries and it is possible to convert their local currencies into other countries' currencies at a fixed exchange rate without restrictions, it will be necessary to confirm the soundness of the balance of payments condition of each and, where possible, to convert their currencies into the currencies of other countries in the monetary area.

The Most Important Features of the Economic and Monetary Structures of the Gulf Countries

He defined the monetary organizations of the economic structures by the fact that since they are not just a reflection of but influence these structures, one cannot understand how these organizations function and develop without knowing these economic structures. In general, one can differentiate between two types of countries: those which have an enormous diversified system of production and those which are familiar only with an economy based on a single sector, like oil, but nonetheless have immense foreign reserves. Money can play a different role in each of these two groups. Money, as we have mentioned, is a credit against the domestic economy, that is, the productive system in it. When the national productive system is diversified, the money cover must contain a high proportion of the local assets that represent sources of diversified domestic output. Where the national productive system is limited but the receipts from exports are nonetheless great, money is a credit not just against the local productive system but also against the foreign exchange earning export sector, and therefore it is natural that the money cover will to a large degree be dependent on foreign assets.

In this sort of situation, adopting the gold standard, or a similar standard, will not entail great risk, in view of the fact that reliance on the provision of goods and services lies with imports and therefore with the international productive system. Therefore tying money to gold or foreign financial assets is to be considered a way of representing the conditions of the domestic economy, not a distortion of it, and this to a large degree is the case with the oil states. These countries' money derives its value from foreign cover, and local assets are of no importance except as reflected by the local productive system in satisfying consumption and investment.

Conditions of the Gulf Countries

From this we may conclude that in their condition, the Gulf countries belonging to the Cooperation Council cannot easily be said to represent independent domestic monetary areas. It would perhaps be closer to the truth to say that they all, in varying degrees, represent a portion of the foreign monetary area which is basically founded on the dollar; the main portion of these countries' national product is derived from oil revenues, which are dollar revenues. Thus national income is essentially defined within the foreign monetary area, which is basically the dollar area, and these countries' true monetary independence is therefore still limited. One can say that to a large degree these countries are still governed by something close to a dollar base; this does not by the nature of the case rule out the fact that each country enjoys some monetary independence and adopts some of its own measures, in terms of setting restrictions on interest rates or restrictions on local credit, or having the freedom to establish banks and bank policies. Nonetheless, these measures are still to a great extent limited in their effect. While there is freedom to transfer and stabilize these countries' currency rates from the practical standpoint, with respect to the dollar in particular, experience has shown that many of these measures have been less effective than they seemed at first.

Protection of Investments

Dr Biblawi stressed that Arab oil resources are financial resources invested abroad and they therefore can be exposed to various forms of risk. There are the political risks, or what could be called sovereign risks, which are related to disdain for or suspension or weakening of Arab rights. This is not the place to discuss these risks, whose confrontation does not just need technical instruments but also depends on the degree of stability in the international system and the economic and political strength of the Arab countries. Therefore, this issue raises the problems of international relations, which lie outside the limits of our subject.

The Risks Which Investments Face

However, there are other economic risks which investments abroad face, and it is to several forms of these that we wish to address ourselves here. It is important that we point out here that the Arab oil exporting countries as a whole are creditors and their investments in general assume different forms of creditorship. It is true that these countries invest part of their surpluses in the form of diverse financial assets which need not of necessity take the form of creditorship from

the technical standpoint but could assume the form of ownership, such as stocks, property ownership, and direct investments; however, it is observed that limits are imposed upon Arab countries' ownership of financial assets, whether these limits be attributed to the host countries, which impose limits on ownership by foreigners, or to the internal imposition of limits by the Arab countries themselves. Most countries that host foreign capital place restrictions on ownership by foreigners, out of the fear that people who are not citizens will dominate their productive resources. Although real dominance is not so much related to ownership as to actual management and to the competence and technological ability that requires, public opinion in many countries is still extremely sensitive on this subject, and the oil countries, in their awareness of the sensitivity of this matter and the desire not to provoke a general climate of opposition to Arab investments abroad--and perhaps also to distance themselves from anything that would have the effect of publicizing the volume of their investments--prefer to invest their money in a manner which does not attract attention, and that generally assumes the form of creditorship, as deposits, loans, treasury bills and bonds. Therefore it would be no exaggeration if we said that most Arab resources assume the form of creditorship, and creditors face economic risks.

11887

CSO: 4404/458

BRIEFS

SAUDI MILITARY DELEGATION--Doha, 29 May (WAKH)--Brig Gen Muhammad Ibn 'Abdallah Al-'Attiyah, deputy commander in chief of the Qatari armed forces, received a guidance committee delegation from the Saudi Command and Staff College which is currently visiting Doha. He briefed the delegation on the general structure of the Qatari armed forces and their units. The two sides discussed bilateral relations during the meeting. The Saudi military delegation arrived in Doha yesterday on a 5-day visit to Qatar. [Text] [GF291327 Manama WAKH in Arabic 1125 GMT 29 May 82]

HEIR APPARENT RECEIVES DELEGATION--Doha, 30 May (WAKH)--Shaykh Hamad Ibn Khalifah Al Thani, Qatari heir apparent and defense minister, today received a guidance committee delegation from the Saudi Command and Staff College. During the meeting, fraternal relations between the two countries and cooperation in various fields were discussed. On the Qatari side the meeting was attended by Brig Gen Muhammad Ibn 'Abdallah Al-'Attiyah, deputy commander in chief of the Qatari armed forces; Col Shaykh 'Abdallah Ibn Khalifah Al Thani, assistant deputy commander in chief; and Maj Gen Muhammad Mahmud Al-Afyuni. On the Saudi side, it was attended by Sulayman Taha al-Marhumi, Saudi charge d'affaires in Doha, and 'Abd al-'Aziz 'Abdallah al-Yusuf, liaison officer at the Saudi Embassy in Doha. [Text] [GF301651 Manama WAKH in Arabic 1015 GMT 30 May 82]

CSO: 4400/305

PAPER ON IRAQI PRESIDENT'S STATEMENT

GF251948 Manama AKHBAR AL-KHALIJ in Arabic 25 May 82 p 1

[Untitled editorial]

[Text] Iraqi President Saddam Husayn made a statement, with profound meaning, about the return of Egypt to Arab ranks. He said the Arabs are stronger with Egypt than without it; the Arab nation has no interest in the extrication of Arab/Egypt from the Arabs; besides this is in the interest of the Zionist movement and the circles of international imperialism. This is right, because extrication of Egypt from its Arab nation is the strategic goal of old and new international imperialism. Zionism came to the Arab territory in order to fragment the one homeland and continue proceeding toward the strategic goal of international imperialism.

If the imperialist circles have succeeded, in cooperation with Zionism, to open a gap in the unity of the Arab nation, exploit the policy of the late Egyptian president in order to achieve unilateral peace and deepen the gap that separates this regime from the Arab nation, then the dangers of the current Arab disintegration warn us of the mistake of going far in punishing Egypt, because Egypt never turned its back on Arabism and never denied its belonging to the Arabs.

As for the voices that view the return of Egypt to its Arab nation as being, in one way or another, an implementation of the Camp David accords, then they--being aware or unaware of that--achieve the strategic goal of international imperialism and of the Zionist enemy. If politics is the science of possibilities, then the return of Egypt to the Arab ranks and keeping it away from imperialism and Zionism is possible today, since demanding that Egypt abandon Camp David is an impossibility and an irresponsible act. This does not imply any support for Camp David, but it will lead to containing Camp David, besieging it and weakening its effects.

CSO: 4400/305

AMIR'S STATE VISIT TO OMAN VIEWED

GF251130 Manama GULF DAILY NEWS in English 25 May 82 p 1

["Amir's Visit Boosts Ties With Oman"]

[Text] The amir, Shaykh 'Isa Ibn Salman al Khalifah, arrived in Muscat yesterday on a three-day state visit to the Sultanate of Oman.

Sultan Qabus Ibn Sa'id welcomed the amir, who is accompanied by his ministers of foreign affairs, the interior and information.

It is Shaykh 'Isa's first visit to Oman. The two countries are partners with Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Qatar and the UAE in the Gulf Cooperation Council, which was formed a year ago.

A Bahraini magazine, AL-MOWAQIF, said the trip was part of Bahrain's diplomatic efforts aimed at laying the basis for Gulf solidarity capable of facing threats to the region.

Shaykh 'Isa, who visited Kuwait earlier this month, said in a statement on his arrival that the security of Oman and Bahrain was inseparable from the security of the region.

Oman is the guardian of the Straits of Hormuz, the gateway to the rich oilfields of Saudi Arabia and other Gulf states.

The magazine also said that Shaykh 'Isa's visit might pave the way for Egypt's return to the Arab fold, a move called for by some moderate Arab states following Israel's withdrawal from Sinai last month.

Most Arab countries boycotted Egypt for signing a peace treaty with Israel in 1979, but Oman, Sudan and Somalia refused to do so.

Earlier this month, Sultan Qabus visited Egypt, and Omani diplomats have advocated the need for the normalisation of Arab ties with Cairo. Arab radicals however oppose any reconciliation with Egypt unless it renounces the U.S.-sponsored Camp David accords under which Israel gave up the Sinai Peninsula.

CSO: 4400/305

BRIEFS

DAILY ON CAMP DAVID IMPOSITION--Manama, 4 Jun (WAKH)--The Bahraini newspaper AKHBAR AL-KHALIJ says editorially today that anti-Arab objectives circles are leaning toward generalizing and defining the Camp David accords in a seemingly complete coordination, the roles of which are distributed between two axes: The weakening of the Arab forces and the pressuring of these forces by all means. The newspaper adds that the Zionist entity and the United States are playing the role of spearhead in that direction through the Israeli threats, the continuous U.S. support, and the curbing of every call for thwarting Camp David. The newspaper refers to the readiness of the EEC to announce a new declaration that would discard the Declaration of Venice and take into consideration the two Camp David agreements. The newspaper says the Western world is retracting the little support it promised the Palestinian people and their combatting organization. [Excerpt] [GF041232 Manama WAKH in Arabic 0815 GMT 4 Jun 82]

CSO: 4400/305

ISRAELI POLITICAL PLANS FOR POST-WITHDRAWAL PHASE EXAMINED

Cairo AL-AHRAM in Arabic 4 May 82 p 7

[Article by Jamal 'Abd al-Jawad: "Israeli Withdrawal From Sinai and Israeli Policy"]

[Text] Shortly before completion of the latest Israeli withdrawal from the Sinai, suspicions arose as to whether Israel would abide by completing the withdrawal on schedule because the closer the withdrawal date approached the more Israel complicated the situation, thus evoking suspicions about whether it would abide by the provisions of the peace treaty with Egypt. Matters even reached the point where the Israeli cabinet included the withdrawal issue on its agenda as if it were discussing a new issue that had not been discussed before and implying that the withdrawal would not take place on the agreed date. Israel justified this conduct by arousing suspicions over Egypt's adherence to the Camp David accords and the Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty. It is most likely that Israel did not intend to delay the withdrawal itself, being aware better than anybody else of the exorbitant price entailed in such a delay, but rather aimed at the post-withdrawal phase, not the withdrawal itself, with this conduct. Consequently, and although the withdrawal has taken place, it remains extremely important to examine and study the intense developments that took place shortly before completion of the withdrawal.

We can say that with its conduct during this period, Israel tried to influence the area's political developments in the post-withdrawal phase by influencing two fundamental issues--first, Egyptian policy in the area after the withdrawal, especially its policy toward Israel and the Palestinian issue and, second, the political efforts exerted after the withdrawal to complete the peace process and to settle the crisis in the area.

Israel is greatly concerned with what it views as a possible backing down in Egyptian policy on peace with Israel, in the form of obstruction of the course of normalization of relations between the two countries and of renewal by the Egyptian leadership of endeavors to link Egypt's efforts with Arab efforts vis-a-vis a settlement. Within this framework, Israel resorted to raising a number of issues, such as the Egyptian position toward the Palestinian issue declared by Dr 'Isamat 'Abd al-Majid at the meetings of the coordination bureau of the nonaligned countries in Kuwait, Israel's accusation that Egypt violated the military supplements of the Egyptian-Israeli treaty and the issue of arms smuggling to the occupied Gaza Strip territories via the Sinai.

Through all of this, Israel sought to convey a certain message expressing its extreme sensitivity to any change in Egyptian policy, thus giving itself the right to determine what amounts to deviation from the agreements between the two countries and preserving for itself the right to respond--a response that in our case reached the extent of threatening to delay the withdrawal. The day following the withdrawal, Begin expressed the content of this Israeli message explicitly when he stated that the Israeli response will be quick if Egypt violates the peace agreements.

It may be said that the area is threatened with entering a "political vacuum" after the latest Israeli withdrawal from Sinai because this withdrawal puts an end to implementation of the Egyptian part of the Camp David accords while the Palestinian part of the accords--the self-rule issue--is faltering due to the vast gap between the Egyptian understanding and Israeli understanding of the issue and due basically to the Palestinian rejection. The Egyptian-Israeli-U.S. negotiations on this issue have gone on for more than 30 months without achieving any noteworthy progress. The coming months do not prefigure any signs of progress in this regard, especially in the wake of the recent Israeli measures in the occupied territories and in the wake of the explicit and repeated declarations by the Egyptian leaders that they will not accept in their negotiations with Israel anything that doesn't satisfy the Palestinians. The continued intransigence on the part of the negotiating parties means faltering discussions and the absence, or semi-absence, of efforts to settle the problem. This is precisely what we mean by the "political vacuums" Such a vacuum is extremely dangerous for conditions in the area as a whole and, consequently, to European and U.S. interests in the area. The continuation of this vacuum puts all the parties face to face with their responsibility to search for a settlement and puts the Arab regimes in a critical position vis-a-vis their citizens.

The renewal or faltering of the self-rule talks will foil the opportunity of rejection for the Arab parties--a rejection they have resorted to from the outset of the peace process between Egypt and Israel--and will, consequently, put them in the critical state of "no peace, no war and no rejection." In light of the intensifying Palestinian national struggle in the West Bank and Gaza and of intensifying Israeli oppression countering this struggle, the situation poses serious tensions that threaten the future of the regimes and provide an opportunity for radical currents, Islamic or leftist, to grow as alternatives to the incapable regimes. This consequently threatens European and U.S. interests in the area. Moreover, it will put Europe and the United States, taking the stance of a spectator vis-a-vis the likely political vacuum, in a critical position insofar as their friendship with the moderate Arabs is concerned.

Some parties, being aware of the possibility of the development of this situation and of its dangers, have tried to prepare alternatives to fill the vacuum before completion of the Israeli withdrawal. Thus, a number of plans, the most significant of them being Prince Fahd's eight-point plan, emerged.

The importance of this plan emanates from three main elements: First, that its source is Saudi Arabia, the country with increasing weight and influence in the area and with firm relations with Europe and the United States. Second, the

plan has been able to gain the acceptance of most of the so-called moderate regimes. Moreover, it has gained the acceptance of broad and significantly influential factions within the PLO. Even though the plan faltered at the Fez summit, it is still projected and is the alternative with the best chance [of succeeding]. The third element is that Europe has found in the plan its long-sought objective, has considered it a suitable basis for the settlement and has supported it as a plan compatible with the Venice declaration. Europe has acted so far in a manner that gives the impression that it has chosen to unite its position with that of the moderate Arab sides so that the European initiative will come not as a new plan with specific points but as efforts exerted in cooperation with the moderate Arab parties on the basis of Prince Fahd's plan so that these efforts can constitute the European initiative. The Israeli position vis-a-vis the Saudi plan, the European initiative and any other plans and proposals relating to Camp David is clear. It is a position that rejects all of these efforts and initiatives. Consequently, Israel tried in the period prior to the withdrawal to foil these plans and initiatives by resorting to several means, first, by working to entrench the status quo in the occupied territories by annexing the Golan and intensifying settlement efforts.

Second, by trying to liquidate the Palestinian national leaderships supporting the PLO in the occupied territories and creating alternative leaderships that agree to deal with Israel through organization of the village leagues. Israel has done all this with the aim of passing the administrative self-rule plan as it understands this plan and of avoiding the vacuum that opens the opportunity for the presentation of alternative European or Arab plans. Third, by trying to reach an agreement in the self-rule talks and by trying to have Egypt agree to a joint declaration of principles that overlooks the legitimate Palestinian demands and provides a cover for the fait accompli policy and for liquidation of the Palestinian national leadership in the occupied territories, all of which Egypt firmly rejected.

Fourth, by trying to destroy the bases on which the projected initiatives rely by weakening the PLO and putting it in the position of being unable to prevent Israel from carrying out its intransigent policy against Arab citizens and by threatening to strike the Palestinian resistance in southern Lebanon.

All parties have dealt with the cease-fire on the Lebanese front as the first Israeli-Palestinian agreement and, consequently, as an agreement that harbors in its folds the element of mutual tacit recognition between the two sides. This is the element that all of the parties are trying to stress and develop. Moreover, the agreement has embodied Saudi influence and weight in the area--an influence and weight that permitted Prince Fahd to present his plan, relying on the credibility the agreement imparted to Saudi policy. The time span between the cease-fire agreement in July and announcement of the Saudi plan in August underlines this fact.

It remains for us to point out that the disagreement over Taba is part of the Israeli plan to prepare for the post-withdrawal phase. Though we cannot disregard Israel's expansionist nature in creating the Taba problem, Israel is trying to use Taba as a trump card by keeping its status suspended. On the

other hand, continued disagreement over Taba puts the parties concerned either in a state of participating with the efforts to overcome the disagreement or of waiting to see what the efforts will produce. Consequently, the disagreement will seriously delay the initiation of new plans or the exertion of new efforts to expand the peace process and to overcome the crisis. Finally, the Israeli maneuvers preceding the latest withdrawal from Sinai came as part of the Israeli policy to use the occupied territories to pressure the Arab regimes--a policy that Israel has been following since 1967.

8494

CSO: 4504/292

FIELD MARSHAL AL-JAMASI URGES FILLING OF SINAI'S STRATEGIC VACUUM

Cairo AL-MUSAWWAR in Arabic No 3001, 16 Apr 82 p 27

[Article by Field Marshal 'Abd al-Ghani al-Jamasi: "Need to Fill Strategic Vacuum in Sinai"]

[Text] Egypt's national security makes it a must to fill the strategic vacuum in Sinai after full withdrawal from it takes place on the 25th of this month so that the Sinai can become a source of strength protecting Egypt from the East. Therefore, one of the gentlemen cabinet ministers must be assigned full time to this task and must live in Sinai. All the agencies concerned must then move there to begin implementing a plan to full the strategic vacuum--a plan approved by the Council of Ministers so that it will be binding, regardless of the change of individuals.

On 25 April 1982, the Egyptian-Israeli war, which began at noon on 6 October 1973, will come to an end. In this war, the Egyptian forces scored, under the most difficult and complex circumstances, a glorious victory that opened the door for the political efforts during and after the war to utilize the outcome of this war and to achieve the liberation of Sinai from the 15-year Israeli occupation that began in June 1967.

If we review events in the Middle East from the October War to the present, we find that instability is a prominent characteristic in the area and that the sturgle of the major powers in the area has been intensifying so that each power can guarantee its strategic and economic interests and its national security. We can say that the Middle East map is now being redrawn at the international level in favor of the interests of the major powers. Therefore, it is expected that in the few next years the area will witness political and military developments that will greatly influence the area's states. This makes it a must to give top priority and devote primary attention to the national security of the area's countries.

It is natural for Egypt to play a main role in the coming events, as it has done in the past. This places on the shoulders of Egypt a heavy burden insofar as its national security and the Arab security in particular are concerned. The Arab-Israeli conflict has not yet reached its end and will continue to be a main cause of instability in the area. Moreover, the major powers are exploiting this conflict for their own ends.

Since the foundation of the State of Israel in 1948, it has become obvious that its goals are part of a long-range plan that is being implemented in successive stages. If we look at Israel's strategic policy and the struggle of the major powers in the Middle East since World War I, we find that the threat to Egypt's national security has always come from the east and that Sinai has been a theater of military operations between Egypt and Israel because of its strategic importance on the one hand and its existence as a strategic vacuum on the other.

Egypt's national security makes it a must to fill this strategic vacuum so that the Sinai will become a source of strength protecting Egypt from the East. This means that we must pay greater attention to Sinai in all spheres in light of past experience and the lessons learned from previous wars. It is wise not to exclude a future threat to Egypt from the East because the changing political circumstances and the struggle of the major powers in the Middle East may again turn the Sinai into a theater of military operations.

During the 1956 tripartite aggression against Egypt, Israel was able to occupy the Sinai for several months and remained there until it was forced to withdraw. Here, we must remember Ben Gurion's words to the Knesset at the time when he said: "Our forces have not set foot on Egyptian soil and this was not in their plans. Our military operations have been confined to the Sinai Peninsula only." Ben Gurion was also the man who said that his decision to withdraw from the Sinai was one of the most difficult and painful decisions he had had to make in his life.

In the June 1967 war, Israel was able to occupy the Sinai for the second time, 10 years after its first occupation, in addition to occupying the Gaza Strip, the West Bank and the Golan. Here, we must remember Weizman's words at the time, when he said: "The 1956 war was tantamount to a rehearsal for the 1967 war. In 1956, the plan was only a year old when it was carried out on the spot. But in 1967, the plan was 12 years old and the only thing lacking was the opportune circumstances and the political decision to begin implementing it."

After the 1967 war, and despite the war of attrition that lasted nearly 2 years, Israel clung to its occupation of Sinai and believed that it had reached the best strategic lines--the Suez Canal--for a secure Israel. General Dayan started saying that the lack of peace with Egypt along with [Israeli] control of Sharm al-Shaykh was better than peace with Egypt without Sharm al-Shaykh.

Then came the October War with its events, its consequences and its political developments, to end up in liberating Sinai after it was under Israeli occupation for nearly 15 years. This period of occupation has left on the Egyptian citizens in Sinai numerous negative traces that must be tackled as soon as possible and in scientific ways that require effort and time.

The memoirs of General Elizar, the Israeli chief of staff during the October War, tell us that Dayan had planned to establish around Israel a security belt, called the "black belt," which called for the occupation of more neighboring Arab territories in Lebanon and Syria and for turning the Sinai into a testing zone for nuclear weapons. This plan had been scheduled to be carried out in 1973 but the October War preempted it and prevented Israel from implementing it.

All of this makes obvious the importance of Sinai and the danger of leaving it as a strategic vacuum, as it has been in the past. I believe that the development of Sinai in a fundamental manner is the only way to fill this vacuum. This cannot be realized by implementing a project here and a project there. The sound way to achieve this end is to turn Sinai into an attractive area for people to attract the largest possible number of Egyptians to work and live there permanently in accordance with a strategic plan implemented over a number of years and seeking to build cities, villages, installations and economic projects along Sinai's various axes so that they can complement each other and achieve self-sufficiency to guarantee their survival and permanence and their clinging to the land. This entails enhancing all aspects of life and stability in Sinai and giving priority to raising the economic, social, educational and cultural standard of the Sinai citizens.

The question that comes immediately to mind is: How can the plan and the means of its implementation be drawn up precisely and according to set timetables? Past experience has proven that no comprehensive strategic plan to develop and enhance Sinai was formulated. Moreover, the separate efforts of each ministry and each agency failed to achieve the goal, except within narrow limits. It is my opinion that this task must be entrusted as a full-time task to one of the gentlemen cabinet ministers, that this minister must live in Sinai and that all the agencies concerned must move there to begin implementation after a plan approved by the Council of Ministers is drawn up so that this plan will become a binding duty, regardless of the change in individuals.

Now that Sinai has returned to the motherland after 15 years of separation from it, it must receive the attention and the development it deserves through fundamental decisions and systematic means of implementation so that the Sinai will turn into a source of strength and into a guarantee of Egypt's national security from the East.

8494

CSO: 4504/292

MINISTER OF TOURISM ON DEVELOPMENT OF SINAI

Cairo AL-AHRAM AL-IQTISADI in Arabic No 695, 10 May 82 p 15

[Article: "Sinai Is Now Part of Our Interest in Tourism"]

[Text] 'Adil Tahir, Minister of Tourism and Civil Aviation, has announced the ministry's plan for operating in the Sinai after recovery of the locales from which the Israeli forces withdrew on 25 April. He stated that the plan comprises three main directions for making a complete survey of the area to set up a plan for settlement and reconstruction and a plan for transportation, communications and supply in cooperation with the ministries concerned and the department of utilities with a person to be appointed to be responsible for cities and utilities and for finding responsible groups to be trained to operate in the Sinai. There has also been contact with the Sinai Governorate to exploit the village of Mit Yamit for tourism and a joint committee has been established between the Ministry of Tourism and the Ministry of State for Youth to promote tourism by young people in the area. This was announced in a press conference last Saturday held by the minister of tourism on the tourist attractions in the Sinai only hours before the complete withdrawal of Israeli forces on 25 April. The conference included a number of people responsible for civil aviation, tourism promotion and the federation of tourist chambers of commerce and was aimed at giving a full picture of the ministry's plan of operation in the Sinai during the coming phase after taking over the Egyptian areas. At the outset of the conference, 'Adil Tahir stated that the objective was to exploit all capabilities and potential in the Sinai so that it could play its role as a tourist attraction. The Ministry of Tourism has sent working groups to various areas to assess the situation in all areas of the Sinai and to evaluate the services available there. He said that the necessary steps had been taken with Ministry of Economy and with Passports and Customs with regard to operation at the four airports which have been taken over, namely, the airports at Ra's Naqab, Ra's Nasrani and Sharm al-Shaykh and the Bura airport.

On the subject of costs of tourist trips to the Sinai, Muhammad al-Saqa, chairman of the federation of tourism companies, announced a 40 percent reduction for tourist groups of 15 or more persons whereby a round trip fare from Cairo to Sinai would cost 80 pounds a person. Interim and seasonal prices have been kept in mind in setting airfares and Luxor has been linked with Sharam al-Shaykh and Ra's al-Naqab.

Investments Open for the Private Sector

With regard to tourism investment in the area, 'Adil Tahir stated that the ministry was encouraging the private sector to undertake projects in the area, besides the public sector which would play its role in paving the way for investments. He added that tourism in this area could, particularly in the areas of south Sinai or the northern Red Sea, move toward scuba diving. A contract has in fact been concluded with a group of people working in this sport in the area for cooperation with the Ministry of Tourism in promoting tourism in the area. In addition to that, the ministry has produced a 70 minute film on the history and people of Sinai and its religious culture. Publications have been distributed by offices abroad to tourism and airline companies throughout the world.

Tourism Continues

Muhammad al-aqa, chairman of the federation of tourism chambers of commerce, said that the committee which had been formed to study tourism conditions in the Sinai had decided to give the operation to the Overseas Tourism Company and had selected Muhammad 'Abdullah, [as] head of the board of directors of the Egyptian Hotels Company. The company has begun to work up a study of each area to study operations for improvement and repair with work to begin on 26 April. Thereby, no image will be raised throughout the world that all facilities stopped operating after Egypt took them over and the international markets will now be aware that these facilities are open.

On the subject of fares between Cairo and the tourist areas on the Gulf of 'Aqaba, he stated that the prices had been pegged to cost and urged a subsidy from the state so that the price for tickets will be reduced, particularly since Israel's prices are lower and this represents a threat.

'Adil Tahir raised the issue of marketing of the area and again urged the tourism companies and the federation of chambers of commerce with regard to land transport that it was essential to bring in numbers of vehicles and rescue and first aid units on the roads and to define their requirements so that they can be provided in cooperation with the armed forces and the Ministry of Health.

Muhammad al-Saqa announced that the tourism companies that send tourists to the area had been notified of the prices and that, with regard to domestic marketing, he had reached agreement with the Sinai Aviation [Company] to promote domestic tourism, to arrange guides for domestic tour groups to these areas, to prevent the entry of any group unless it was under an Egyptian tour company and bar busses from transporting tourists unless they belonged to an Egyptian tour company. The ministry has prepared a plan to raise the level of hotels in the Sinai from the two-star class to three stars.

Tourism Area in Ra's Al-Naqab

Yahya al-Shanawi of the Egyptian Aviation Company announced that the airports at Ra's al-Naqab, Nasrani and Sharm al-Shaykh and the Bura Airport, that the Ra's al-Naqab area could be turned into a tourism area since the airport's altitude of 790 meters above sea level caused the temperature to be lower and a city could be established there with a collective society and a complete hospital to serve the people of the area which, after the airport went into operation, could reach a population of 500 to 1,000 persons, particularly since the Ra's al-Naqab airport is twice the area of Cairo Airport. It would cost \$2,500 a month to bring electricity to the area and bringing water in would cost \$15,000 a month.

8389

CSO: 4504/315

CASE OF FRAUDULENT MILLIONAIRE 'ABD AL-HAYY DISCUSSED

Cairo ROSE AL-YUSUF in Arabic No 2810, 19 Apr 82 pp 26-27

[Article by Ahmad Hamrush: "In a World of Millionaires"]

[Text] In its issue of 5 April, AL-AKHBAR noted that Zakariya Tawfiq 'Abd al-Fattah, chairman of the Suez Canal Bank, had submitted to the general prosecution a report accusing Tawfiq 'Abd al-Hayy of acquiring an 8.5-million-pound loan from the bank without adequate collateral!

I have thought of this report a lot.

Does it reflect the desire of Zakariya Tawfiq 'Abd al-Fattah to expose corruption and to reveal the dimensions of this fraud?

If so, then why did Zakariya delay submitting the report until the millionaire fled the country, taking most of these millions with him?

I was then overwhelmed by perplexity.

Who gave Tawfiq 'Abd al-Hayy the opportunity to acquire these millions from the Suez Canal Bank without offering adequate collateral?

Isn't Zakariya Tawfiq 'Abd al-Fattah the chairman of the board of directors responsible for the Suez Canal Bank?

Considering that I am no expert on financial and banking affairs, I felt that I had a problem.

Is Zakariya Tawfiq 'Abd al-Fattah presenting a report against himself or a report against other bank officials?

Did he know that huge loans were being advanced without adequate collateral and careful investigations and search and on the basis of connections, trust or personal relations?

Did he or did he not know?

If he did know, then why did he remain silent throughout the preceding period?

If he did not know, then how did the bank advance the loans and what are the powers of the chairman of the board of directors?

What is surprising is that Zakariya Tawfiq 'Abd al-Fattah's report caused other banks that participated in advancing loans to the fleeing millionaire, such as al-Muhandis Bank, the Arab Investment Bank and others, to move.

This is how influential and pervasive Tawfiq 'Abd al-Hayy was!

And this is how easy the banks were with him and how strict they were with other clients who were asking for thousands, not millions!

Who supported this fleeing millionaire at these rising banks?

And why did Tawfiq 'Abd al-Hayy draw up his plan against these young banks and but be unable to infiltrate the long-established banks, such as the Bank of Egypt, which has announced that it gave this fleeing millionaire no loans?

Was not Tawfiq 'Abd al-Hayy in charge of popular development in Alexandria, exactly as was Rashad 'Uthman, who is currently in custody?

What relationship is there between him and these banks?

Why did the Ministry of Supply open bank credits for Tawfiq 'Abd al-Hayy, as Zakariya Tawfiq 'Abd al-Fattah has said?

Who is the state official who allocated for Tawfiq 'Abd al-Hayy 136 meat and poultry distribution outlets, as Zakariya 'Abd al-Fattah has said in the investigation and as reported by the press?

How did Tawfiq 'Abd al-Hayy debase the humane concept of popular development and turn it into a business in damaged foods?

Why did the officials in charge of popular development put their trust in him when he was being tried in the courts in more than one case of violation of honor?

The issue was no secret and was not unknown to the public.

Tawfiq 'Abd al-Hayy was the topic of conversation in social gatherings and accusations revolved around him. People have no comment other than sorrow and regret.

When the pages of the press emerged with the Heliopolis Club story and with Tawfiq 'Abd al-Hayy's insistence on nominating himself despite the decision issued by the Governor of Cairo and despite all the ill reputation that had surrounded him, people were surprised, especially when Tawfiq 'Abd al-Hayy's supporters in the club management refused to turn over the club chairmanship to the counselor in whose favor a ruling had been issued.

What superpower of defiance did this man possess and what broad support was protecting his back?

The general prosecution's investigation of these serious issues calms the anger of the people and makes them feel that the supremacy of the law is no longer a screen but has become a reality.

The bead string of corruption has broken and we must not turn some defendants into sacrificial lambs.

We must look for the roots of corruption, for the figures that supported the corrupt and for the bright names that were stabbing all the good values in the dark and aggrandizing unto themselves hundreds of millions [of pounds] at the expense of the destitute. We must also look for the factors that lead to this corruption.

I see the case of Rashad 'Uthman, Na'im Abu Talib, Tawfiq 'Abd al-Hayy and other names that will inevitably be reached by the arm of the law as a case similar to that of the fraudulent (Mitavski) that shook France. This is surprising!

Rashad 'Uthman has turned into a prosecuting power when he is still in detention and under accusation.

There is no doubt that this battle that has begun between Rashad and Tawfiq 'Abd al-Hayy is an interesting one.

Over what were the two competing?

Who was with Rashad and who was with Tawfiq?

There is no doubt that Rashad 'Uthman knows a lot about the hidden secrets of this unknown world--the world of enrichment at the cost of all values, the world of smuggling and drugs and the world of millionaires engulfed by suspicions.

An apology to the other millionaires who have not been involved with the world of smuggling, graft and fraud. But the crimes committed by some millionaires give all millionaires a bad name.

A clear distinguishing line must be drawn between the national capitalism that builds industry and strengthens production in Egypt on an honorable and patriotic basis and those representatives of foreign firms who are concerned with nothing but reaping profits from the importation of damaged foods or of products that compete with the national industry.

National capitalism has a patriotic role.

Those who make millions from domestic industry or trade have a patriotic role.

As for the capitalism of the agents of foreigners (the compradors), these agents often seek to make profits at the expense of the national industry, thus playing an unpatriotic role.

Let not some people interpret our attack on this regrettable phenomenon as an attack against certain names, such as Tawfiq 'Abd al-Hayy or Rashad 'Uthman. This attack is no more than an attempt to focus a spotlight on a social pattern that can produce such corruption and that is not concerned whether the open-door economy serves production, planning and development--the pattern of the consumer society in which people compete to imitate and to get money in any way.

The statement that hunting down corruption will lead to the loss of investors must not affect us, or we will be like those who make corruption the rule and integrity the exception. This is not true because not all those engaged in the field of investment are corrupt, and they are not all Rashad 'Uthman or Rawfiq "abd al-Hayy.

Those sacred and frightened by the campaign against corruption are the ones around whom the suspicions hang.

8494

CSO: 4504/292

ARAB, FRENCH BANKS EXTEND LOAN

Cairo THE EGYPTIAN GAZETTE in English 21 May 82 p 3

[Text] AN AGREEMENT for an international loan will be signed on Sunday. The Union of Arab and French Banks jointly with the World Saudi Bank will extend the loan of \$35 million.

Board - Chairman of the Union, Dr Mahmud Abu Shadi, revealed that a second loan of \$200 million would be provided by international banks on the account of the Egyptian Central Bank. He said that 25 Arab and international banks have expressed readiness to take part in financing the loan and that the date for signing agreement would be fixed later.

Dr Abu Shadi said that the provision of the two loans showed the confidence which international institutions placed in Egypt's economy and political stability. Financial institutions in Europe and the Gulf have already decided to finance the loan for the first time in five years, he added. — GSS

CSO: 4500/184

BUS SYSTEM PLANNED FOR SINAI

Cairo AL-SIYASI in Arabic No 349, 16 May 82 p 4

[Article: "East Delta Bus Company"]

[Text] The human element in any field is certainly the most important one and interest in the individual is an important responsibility.

The efforts of the transportation and communications men who have managed to link the cities of the Sinai with the various parts of the republic and have provided regular means of transport and communication since the first moments the territory was handed over--[as published].

Ensuring the provision of easy, rapid and timely service in transporting passengers in the cities of the republic is a national duty that the East Delta Bus Company is taking into consideration, basing it on three axes. Thus began the statement of Yahya al-Zayyat, chairman of the board of directors of the company.

To meet the goal of providing passenger service in the new cities to facilitate the plan for their reconstruction and for linking them with the cities of the republic, we set up a new branch in the city of 10 Ramadan as a link between the cities of the Canal, Sinai, the delta and Cairo.

The New Network

The company has established a new transportation network more than 5,100 kilometers long, running from Cairo to 10 Ramadan (completely new) besides the old Cairo-al-'Arish line, operations on it having begun on 25 April. This line comprises two groups:

The first group is "Operating from Sinai" and the second is "10 Ramadan."

The lines:

Lines making a direct link between Cairo-al-Tur-Sharam-al-Shaykh and also Cairo-St Catherine's Monastery with air-conditioned service.

Cairo-al-'Arish with deluxe service.

Al-Zaqaziq-al-Isma'iliyah-al-'Arish with deluxe service.

Al-'Arish-Cairo with rapid service.

The Local Network in Sinai

North-South:

North Sinai (al-'Arish-Shaykh Zuwayd-Rafah) al-'Arish-Bir Lahfan-Al-Qusaymah and, alternatively, al-'Arish-Bir Lahfan-Al-Hasan.

With regard to the west: al-'Arish-Biral-'Abd-Bir Musa'id-al-Mazar-Ramanah-al-Qantarah East.

With regard to the south: al-Tur-St Catherine's-al-Tur-Abu Zaminah-Ra's Sadr-al-Shatt-al-Tur-Sharm al-Shaykh-Dahab-Nab'aq-Nuwaybi'.

All these lines connect with the main line from 10 Ramadan.

Tourist service: Given the importance of cross-Sinai tourism, the company has established domestic tour lines to the al-Nakhil coast in al-'Arish, St Catherine's Monastery, Sharm al-Shaykh, Dahab and Nuwaybi', all of which are international tourist centers in Sinai.

International service: Upon the return of the Sinai to its beloved homeland, Egypt, the company set up a sector for cross-Sinai international service and this sector will operate to provide passenger transport in neighboring cities. There have already been trips between Cairo and Tel Aviv, Cairo and Eilat and Eilat and Sharm al-Shaykh, all by busses of the al-Nil General Company for East Delta Bus Service.

Eng Yahya al-Zayyat, chairman of the board of directors of the company, went on to say: "We hope in the near future, if not in the pilgrimage season next year, to transport pilgrims traveling by land by airconditioned busses across Sinai to Saudi territory and also to Jordan via al-'Aqabah."

Projects:

Improving mobile units and busses over the next 2 years to include improving the airconditioned and deluxe network to improve means of transport, and importing chassis on which the body will be assembled in Egypt, thereby saving 25 percent of the import costs and turning a large segment of the labor force to productive employment.

Improving the arrival and departure stations by constructing them of aluminum and providing means for the passengers to relax and places to wait, in addition to outfitting them with snack bars to fill the needs of the waiting passengers. This is in addition to erecting boards giving the times of arrival and departure and loudspeakers to make announcements about the areas to await the vehicles.

Improving the repair and maintenance workshops. During 1982-1983, fully equipped road rescue vehicles will be purchased to handle sudden breakdowns.

Dear reader, this is one of the fine pictures we give you about one of our transportation sectors that has been able to provide the people of our beloved homeland a constantly improving service by providing more than 1,140 airconditioned, deluxe and fast busses to serve passengers in all cities east of the delta and across Sinai and to provide tourist and international service.

8389

CSO: 4504/315

KHOMAYNI'S SON DISCUSSES VARIOUS ISSUES DURING INTERVIEW

Tehran ETTELA'AT in Persian 28-29 Apr 82 pp 6, 7, 14

[Interview with Seyyed Ahmad Khomeyni]

[Text] As we promised yesterday, starting today, we will publish the text of the important, exclusive interview with Hojjatoleslam Seyyed Ahmad Khomeyni concerning various issues. What you read below is the text of our interview with Hojjatoleslam Seyyed Ahmad Khomeyni:

Question: Thank you for allowing us this interview. There are many issues that can be discussed. Of course, this house, this gathering, and especially the magnanimous treatment that we have been and are enjoying makes us even more indebted to you than ever before. It also makes us eager and bold enough to raise any issue we wish.

The feeling that one gets in this noble house and in this gathering will certainly change the interview into conversation and friendly chatting. What better opportunity can we hope for than this, which passes by like a breeze, in such a country with such great changes and rapid events? Our feeling, now, is that we are sitting at a conversation with a person who has witnessed so closely the most important and sensitive moments of history. In fact, you are sitting at the side of history, in a more realistic sense, at the side of a human being who has built and is building one of the highest, most glorious, and most lasting heights of Islamic and human history, with his faith in God and reliance on the masses of millions of the nation. In any case, regardless of any personal characteristics, superiority, or gifts, you also enjoy this great gift of God, to have slept on the slopes of such a high peak and on the shores of such a deep sea, whose magnificence, glory, and greatness have dazzled the eyes of history. That is why we must make the most of the small amount of time this opportunity affords.

In any case, we must be brief and must ultimately begin somewhere. Initially, let us begin with the war, since it is our most vital issue and also because we want to view the issues from your perspective, because you occasionally participate in the meetings of the Supreme Council for Defense, you are often present at the visits and meetings with the imam concerning this issue, and for other obvious reasons. Hence, we find it necessary to speak of issues concerning the war. We would like to talk about the two powerful arms of this war, which are the Guards Corps and the army, the mutual effects of the war on them, and also the role of these two self-sacrificing forces.

Answer: In the name of God the compassionate and the merciful. Much can be said concerning the role of the army and the Guards Corps, to whom the country, the war, and the victories are indebted for their self-sacrifice. You know that the army is the protector of the country's independence. That is, if the territorial integrity of the country is threatened, it is the duty of the army to defend it. This is a clear and obvious role. On the other hand, the role of the Guards Corps is vague, because the Guards Corps is the protector of the gains of the revolution. That is, if the revolution is attacked or threatened in any way, it is the duty of the Guards Corps to defend it.

If foreign colonialism threatens the revolution, it must be present and if domestic counterrevolution threatens the revolution, it must defend it. In the same way, if incorrect economic, political, or cultural programs seriously endanger our revolution, the question is, should the Guards Corps play a role or should it only play a role in the above areas? In this connection, as I mentioned, I have much to say which, God willing, I will say later. However, the effects of the war on the Guards Corps and the army have been very great. Our military, which has always been "severed from the people" because of its particular structure, as a result of the war, became meshed with the people and is inseparable from them. The shah had separated the army from the people. He even gave them their peas and beans in a separate place! Fabrics, household items, and everything else that you can think of was provided in their own exclusive cooperatives, even meat and bread. We have not forgotten that a military man in uniform was not allowed to enter a religious gathering. After the revolution, although this kind of thinking had changed somewhat, it still retained the same direction. However, as a result of this war, it changed so drastically that even many years of effort would not have been able to make it possible.

Night Prayers at the Side of Tanks

In the war, the military embraced religion wholeheartedly. There are many stories about the military performing night prayers at

the side of tanks and artillery. I do not mean that the military did not believe in religion before the war. Not by any means. But the war became a grounds for nurturing the religious ideas of the military brothers. The war made our military brothers followers of the ideology. The war caused our military to understand that they must not only fight to protect their country, but they must defend their beliefs and that to protect the country is only one reflection of the bright rays of their ideology. If there had been no war, we would not have made these valuable gains. But its effect on the Guards Corps was that they realized that what they had heard about the military brothers was incorrect, that they wanted to cooperate closely with the Guards Corps brothers. However, it was their incompetent former commanders who opposed this. Thank God, finally, we see the Guards Corps and the military as friends and brothers, which is unprecedented. Also, our soldiers have become so strong because of such experiences and such involvements. And of this kind, much . . . [as published]

Iraq's Future?

Question: Here, it would be appropriate, even necessary, to deal with another important issue, which is also related to the war. That is the issue of Iraq. In this regard, there are many important points which are vague. You are surely aware of how necessary and urgent it is to anticipate them.

Answer: Let me say that one of the very important issues, as you mentioned, is the future of Iraq. What have we thought about the future of Iraq? We all know that the Islamic future of Iraq will disrupt the political, military, and economic balance of the region, the effects of which will shake the East and the West. We must by no means let the East and the West seal the future of Iraq. If we start thinking about it too late, there is a strong possibility of reformist changes taking place in Iraq. Neither the United States nor the Soviet Union can ever agree to fundamental changes. If they see that Saddam is in such a predicament that he cannot remain in Iraq, they will certainly begin their work. Will the Muslim people of Iraq, after having lost so many killed, and our people, after having given so many martyrs, be able to forgive us if Iraq falls into the hands of one of the two superpowers?

Change in Iraq, whether under the influence of America or Russia, will not be in the interest of the nations of Iran, Iraq, and the region. It would be to our disadvantage whether there were a pro-Soviet or a pro-American coup d'etat. If there is a pro-Soviet coup, some of the countries in the region will immediately strengthen it and we cannot get along with them, because we are neither pro-East nor pro-West and we would have to await the uprising of the Muslims. If there is a pro-American coup, the

Gulf countries would all be absorbed by it and we would have to begin a new battle.

Hence, we must do our best to follow a policy which, firstly, would prevent skirmishes in Iraq. As you know, the communists in Iraq have coordinated organizations and the Iraqi Kurds, who are also fed by the Soviets, would support them to form a powerful Iraqi force. The Iraqi Muslims would be forced into house to house combat in every city and village in order to take the government into their own hands. Furthermore, in Iraq, the imam does not enjoy the position he does in Iran; relations between the imam and the people are not what they are in Iran. And it is very painful to think that most probably if we wait too long, the pro-American Iranian Kurds would join hands with the Iraqi Kurds to make claims on Kurdistan. The superpower will, at any rate, support this claim and we will be faced with many problems. If we do not have something decisive in mind for Iraq and do not ensure a strong organization to manage Iraq and if there is a revolution there, although it is true that the Iraqi Muslims are the majority and will ultimately control the government, we must carefully consider that in a few years, we will have to deal with the problems of Iraq. And what would the people say about us, those who neither have the level of awareness nor the patience and tolerance of the Iranian people? Would they not say that we took actions to bring about a revolution like the Iranian revolution and question why we did not think about its guiding organization?

And in the case of a coup d'etat, Iraq would immediately pull its forces out and declare loudly to the world that it does not want to bother Iran. What would be the results? Who would pay for our damages? Would warstricken Iraq, which had lost everything, have the ability to compensate us or, as today, would the treasury of its supporters solve the problem? There is much to be said in this regard which one cannot say. If I speak more than I already have, it will probably be said that I have interfered in the internal affairs of Iraq! But it cannot be left unsaid that from now, we must think of the oppressed Muslims of Iraq and try to prevent Saddam from escaping. I hope you realize what I want to say. Of course, we have spoken in this regard briefly in the Supreme Council for Defense and in detail with our friends, Messers Khamene'i, Hashemi, and Musavi. We hope the Iraqi Muslims of Iran will be able to manage Iraq and set aside their differences.

Iraqi People Must Make the Most of the Iranian Experience

They must make the most of the Iranian experience, so that after the victory, they will take the Koran and implement it line by line, that they will not put a person like Qotbzadeh as the head of radio and television. Our experience is very valuable. The

Muslims of Iraq should know not to form a coalition cabinet, like we did. Look at the first Cabinet after the revolution and see what a hodgepodge it was. The Iranian experience was not gained cheaply. Seventy-two members of the party, Raja'i, Bahonar, and dozens of the thinkers and teachers of the revolution, such as Mottahari, Mofatteh, Dastqeyb, Madani, Hasheminezhad, Qazi-Tabataba'i, and many more is the price of the experience that must be used in Iraq.

The Issue of the Clergy

Question: There has been much discussion about the clergy and its purge, especially considering recent events. It would be appropriate if you would express your views as a clergyman in this regard as well as in regards to the other aspects of the issue, such as organizations.

Answer: I have spoken about this before, which was published in BAMDAD. You probably know about it.. Of course, I did not give an interview to BAMDAD. In the imam's office in Qom, there were discussions among a large group of people; then BAMDAD published it because one of its reporters had been present. There, I said that the clergymen consist of three groups. The combative group is made up of those who fought during the shah's time and who went to prison and were exiled, were tortured, and are committed, alert, and responsible. Another group consists of those who are against any new event, because new events disrupt their lives. They like to keep quiet. Some of them are dependent, but the number is very small. And a large number are against the shah, tyranny, and injustice. They are upset that their oil was taken by the United States, their army was destroyed by U.S. advisors, their culture was destroyed by lewd Western education, and their economy was destroyed by non-Islamic economic relations. But they believed that nothing could be done. However, today, all of these and the first group have unbreakable ties with the imam and the revolution. They are all good, except for the second group, which, hopefully, God will reform. If they cannot be reformed, hopefully, the honorable teachers of the theological center will purge them and the people will reject them from the society. They have already begun to do this. As I mentioned, I have spoken in detail in this regard and I will not repeat it.

Here, I should mention that what was written in a KEYHAN article is by no means acceptable and friends at KEYHAN admit that there was a mistake. Concerning the organization, the teachers presented the imam with certain issues. The imam expressed his views, which will be put at the disposal of the people in the not too distant future. At the present time, I will not say anything about the organization of the center, since my views might be misused, because I present the issues undeveloped, while the great scholars of Qom have raised the issues well developed.

Organizations and the Islamic Republican Party

Question: About the necessity of the organizations, as far as you have found, you have said that not even the [theological] center can be without organizations. Since we have spoken of the center's organization, you might also speak about the necessity of non-center organizations. On the whole, we know this goal has been crystalized in our society in the "Islamic Republican Party."

Answer: I have said many times, and others have also said, that without a strong religious organization, you cannot manage the country. Only organizational ideas become fruitful; otherwise, good forces are wasted. If we had had organizations before the revolution, would the events that occurred after the revolution ever have happened? Would so many good people have been killed? Never. If we had had organizations after the victory of the revolution, we would have known immediately what persons should begin to work in what places; who should be responsible for forming the government; who should be in charge of propaganda; what we should do; how we should start; what methods we must use; if we have a shortage of good organizational people to manage the society, what forces can be utilized; what forces are close or closer to our kind of thoughts; and the basis of ideological issues. It is only within an organizational framework that problems can be solved and evaluated and the correct issues be separated from the incorrect ones. It is only within an organization that everyone's responsibility is clear, everyone's program more clear, and one can work without being rushed, knowing what to do.

If we think a little about the complications that we faced in the beginning of the victory of the revolution, if we examine the positions of the leaders of the revolution as compared to those of individuals and minigroups, if we look at the persons we placed in sensitive positions in the early years of the revolution, and if we look at the work of the individuals that we put into power with good will, we will better understand the necessity of a true Islamic organization. After all, who named the streets and squares?

Who managed the large radio and television organization? In whose hands were the newspapers? Who managed the ministries? Who were the governors-general and who chose them? And so on. The ministers and their deputies, small and large, were all a hodgepodge which brought about those calamities that we are not yet free of. If we had had organizations, we would have said that such and such a person would be the minister of guidance and we would have chosen that person many years before for this job. He would have studied for this job and he would have had the plan for an Islamic ministry of guidance in his pocket. He would have

chosen committed Muslim individuals and he would have become the minister as soon as the revolution was victorious and his people would have become deputies, and so on. It would have made the job so easy. From the time that the imam started the struggle until the victory of the revolution, that is, from 5 June 1963-11 February 1979, was ample time to find these individuals. But in Iran, the Islamic Republican Party is the only organization which follows the imam's line. Of course, it has problems, but which organization can you find as large as the Party with so few problems? Except for the Party, we have no organization. We must try our best to strengthen it and if we see problems, we should point them out in a brotherly manner. The imam said about the Party that he knows the leaders. As for me, as far as I know, not only the leaders, but the members as well are all good. I hope they are able to become even better in the future. The basic problem in the Party in the beginning was lack of coordination between the members. But, thank God, this disharmony has been gradually eliminated. I hope if any remains, it will be eliminated. I have tried everything in my power to resolve the problems of the Party.

Concerning the Selection of the Experts

Question: An issue which has been raised by numerous brothers among the authorities is one also related to the clergy, which is the issue of the selection of the experts.

Of course, the mass media throughout the world has, as usual, presented the issue as something strange, whereas this is nothing but a natural and normal implementation of the articles of the Constitution regarding the institution of leadership. In any case, in your own opinion, if the experts are selected, given the guidelines, what person or persons will be considered?

Answer: According to the Constitution, the experts must be selected to present to the people the leader or leadership council. The long history of the struggles of Ayatollah Montazeri is something which clearly distinguishes him from other highly revered sources of emulation who are all good and religious. Who is there who knows this highly revered scholar and knows what tortures and losses he has suffered and would not believe that, without a doubt, he would be the future leader of the revolution? I do not want to say that the other sources of emulation--may God increase their blessings--are imperfect, God forbid. No; I want to say that those highly revered scholars know that leadership is something which requires the experiences of long struggles. Of course, this is a personal view. When the revered gentlemen are selected, they will decide for themselves. But I do not think that, for instance, his reverence Ayatollah Golpayegani, of whom we have seen nothing but service to the revolution and the Republic during the revolution and with all

the sincerity and piety that we know he possesses, would be hurt by what I say, because he has said many times that what he is doing he hopes will be accepted by God. And I say, it certainly will be. However, I am certain that he, too, will select the highly revered religious jurist and source of emulation, Mr Montazeri. Of course, the experts will decide.

The scholarly and practical status of this old guerrilla is known to everyone, even the highly revered sources of emulation.

May God preserve them all for Muslims. The qualifications of the experts, the manner of selection and other affairs have been set down in the Constitution and the common laws. Furthermore, not only the specialists, but also the masses of the people have chosen him as their future leader. May God keep Khomeyni until the revolution of Mehdi.

How Bani-Sadr Was Appointed as Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces

Question: Now, let us refer to the historical issues that we have witnessed. From a distance, we have witnessed some of the events, but certainly not in the same way that you and the respected authorities have witnessed them, first hand. Among them is the issue of Bani-Sadr's appointment as commander-in-chief of the armed forces. How and why did this happen?

Answer: After the imam was transferred to the coronary care hospital, he found it pertinent to complete everything which concerned him as soon as possible, for instance, the directorship of the Supreme Court, the prosecutor general, the selection of the religious jurists and the Council of Guardians, and the like. The imam told me to go to our friends and ask their council about two things: one was the commander-in-chief of the armed forces and the other was the members of the Council of Guardians.

[He said:] Because I am ill and I do not have the time to supervise the military, a person or council should take over the responsibility of the commander-in-chief of the armed forces. Concerning the Council of Guardians, we decided to report to the imam in the hospital after long discussions. But concerning the commander-in-chief of the armed forces, I do not remember where it was decided; it was not in the hospital. I said that the imam had said that the commander-in-chief of the armed forces must be either the president or a council made up of Mr Hashemi, Mr Khamene'i, and the president. The imam said it would perhaps be better if there were a council.

The late martyr Beheshti said he believed there must be a council in the form that the imam had expressed. For his own reasons, Mr Hashemi opposed this idea. He said that we had better refrain

from involving ourselves in military issues as much as possible. Mr Khamene'i, as far as I remember, said that it was all the same to him.

After much discussion, no one changed his mind and I reported it to the imam. At the same time, I also favored a council. I said that Mr Musavi Kho'iniha should be the imam's representative in the Supreme Council for Defense. They also agreed, should there be a council. However, Mr Hashemi had expressed his opinion earlier that none of us should interfere in military issues and was, therefore, insistent on having Bani-Sadr as the commander-in-chief of the armed forces. After I reported the events to the imam, he also believed that the commander-in-chief of the armed forces, that is, the representative of the commander-in-chief of the armed forces, should be Bani-Sadr and he issued a decree concerning, as far as I remember, the commander-in-chief of the armed forces.

Of course, Mr Beheshti said that I could be a member of the council. However, the imam opposed my accepting any responsibility, and he was right. But, after the decree was issued, not only did Bani-Sadr accomplish nothing, but he actually betrayed the army, because, as I mentioned before, he implemented his plan by setting the military and the Guards Corps against each other.

Besides this, which was the most dangerous issue, he must answer to these questions before God: You knew six months before the war that Iraq would attack Iran, what did you do about it? Did you prepare the military for an expansive war? Did you equip the Guards Corps along with the military? Did you equip the military with the various arms that it had? Did you set up trenches along the borders of Iran and Iraq? Did you dispatch military equipment, such as tanks and artillery, from other places in Iran? Did you prepare our fighter planes, including the "F-4s," "F-5s," "F-15s," and other fighter planes? Did you do anything to strengthen the morale of the military and the Guards Corps? Did you prepare the naval forces? Did you provide the authorities with sufficient information concerning logistical issues? Did you inform the imam? Did you discuss the issue with the people? Did you provide the Ministry of Foreign Affairs with the necessary political information in order for it to work effectively? Did you ask the Ministry of Roads and Transportation to provide you with the loaders and other equipment that you said you were short of? Did you inform the Ministry of Health to be prepared for thousands of wounded? Did you inform the Red Crescent? Did you look at the map of Iraq even once? Did you inform the neighboring countries of Iraq's intentions? Did you cry out in international circles? Did you alert the railroads? Or did you discuss imports and exports during the war with the Ministry of Commerce?

Did you discuss with the Ministry of Petroleum what might happen to the oil facilities during the war? Did you warn the lionhearted men and women of the villages and cities along the borders about the sinister plans of Saddam? And there are thousands of other questions, each of which requires an answer to the living history of Iran and the revolution. You were the commander-in-chief and should have taken steps. You did not do so and not only did you remain silent in the face of all this, but you also made everyone neglectful of what would happen to them in the near future with your infamous, heathenistic positions and irresponsible speeches. Not only did you not think of solutions, but you also sprinkled salt on the wounds of all those whose hearts beat for the revolution and Iran. No more than 13 days before the war, you started the chaos of 8 September. Division 2 says that it was informed of what was to happen; then why did it not tell the imam and the people about what was going to happen to Iran, the revolution, and the nation? Is this not what he really wanted? He wanted the war to start, for us to be defeated, and for all that he hoped would happen to the imam and his line to happen--may it never happen--so that he could enter Tehran riding in a tank, rescue the hostages, and finish the job. What I am saying is beyond the scope of an interview, but what can I do, it had to be said one day--of course, this is not the first time. From the first day of the war, he constantly came to the imam and said that we have nothing and we can do nothing.

At a time when our people had become homeless and our young people were rolling in their own blood, the imam and I witnessed that he would speak of being given authority over some place. A sigh would come from the depths of the imam, because the pure blood of hundreds of the members of this country who were fighting did not put an end to his greed. Alas, what we suffered because of him, I cannot repeat. According to the Imam's instructions, I could not show the slightest reaction. The imam would say that we should remain silent until the war ends in our victory. Not only did the imam frequently tell me this, but he also said it in his speeches, that the people should support him and perhaps he would mend his ways. But, God rid us of him (Bani-Sadr) in the best possible way, through the imam, his pious servant.

The Imam's Mystical States Far Surpass His Status as a Struggler

Question: Many questions still remain, which we will pose. Among them are questions concerning the past, vague historical points, the events of Bani-Sadr, the prophet-like dealing of the imam with him, the united counterrevolutionary front, and the like. Then, the most important and most valuable part of our talk concerns what you have witnessed of the imam's character, the mysticism and morality of this great model which you have

witnessed so closely and whom our generation needs to understand more urgently than any other dimension of the revolution.

Of course, obviously, the imam has reached this status because he has made the Prophet his model. Although this question could be a good conclusion, it would be a pity, it is unfair, and it would be disrespectful to dally on the issue of counterrevolution for an hour and only then reach this question. Furthermore, in our eagerness to discuss this issue, we will pose this question as soon as possible. Hence, we are all eyes and ears, eager for you to tell us about the imam.

Answer: For a person who does not have the ability to paint what he sees, to speak of the imam is difficult. The imam is the imam. Sometimes I want to say that his decisiveness is his most distinguishing characteristic, then I think of his asceticism and piety. Yet, while I am thinking along this line, I am overwhelmed by his bravery, which, I become convinced, takes precedence over all his other characteristics. But, if you want the truth, I am never able to express what I understand of him. His truthfulness--I swear to God, not because he is my father, but because I am devoted to him, if there was an able writer who would know what I know, he would be better able to present the best material to the society.

With us, and the rest of the members of his family, the imam is the same as he is with the people. There is no difference. Of course, when the imam is being humorous at home and teasing the children, he is different from the way he is outside. But this is not what I mean. The imam appears before others the same as he is when he is among us.

It Is a Story to Behold, Not Just to be Told

He goes to sleep at night between 11:30 and 12 o'clock. He wakes up one hour before dawn, that is, at the call for morning prayers. He has a small alarm clock that wakes him. It is a story to behold not just to be told between the morning call for prayers and morning prayers. He weeps; he expresses his love for God; and he pleads and speaks to God. My mother says that since he was 28 years old, he has not missed his night prayers, that is, since their marriage. The imam's roommates also describe him the same way, from his days as a theological student. From the beginning, he has avoided lying and speaking behind people's backs. From the beginning, he would either refuse to sit in a meeting where they spoke behind people's backs or he would stop the conversation. You should not just hear what I have to say. We should not be talking about the imam's character. Go and ask about the imam's character as a young man from his roommates and his fellow students, who are, fortunately, quite a few. And do not go as reporters. The imam is the imam. The moral and

mystical dimensions of the imam have been overshadowed by his struggles; otherwise, his mystical states far surpass even the imam's struggles.

The Imam, Philosophy, and Mysticism

Perhaps no one, and I can say for sure no one, knows scholarly mysticism as does the imam. I repeat, do not settle for my account alone. No one else reaches the status of the imam in Islamic philosophy. Ask the philosophers. Why do you not go and ask the philosophers what status the imam has reached in philosophy? Some prominent people have said that some of the Islamic sciences are complete with the imam. In practical mysticism, we have no one like the imam, or if so, they are few. The imam likes to study and he still studies so much that he tires his eyes. I remember during holidays when we came for the summer to one of the cities or to Tehran, he would study so many different books that those who supplied him with books would start to complain. He has studied most of the great stories, such as "Les Miserables." He has read most of the great writers of the world. Both in social and political areas, he was the most widely read clergyman. He has studied the history of Iran many times and he knows the Constitutional history very well.

Presently, he reads all the reports. At the time when the newspapers were a battleground of ideas, he would study them carefully. The conversation channels of the imam, despite what has been said, and said with a motive, did not and do not consist of one individual or group. He studies the reports from the gendarmerie, police, and military headquarters, information from the Prime Minister's Office, and the briefs from the Guards Corps and the imam's office. You see that I am only listing in passing. Various individuals who have visited the imam, and still do, have kept him informed on the issues. The imam's ability to educate himself is another story altogether. He believes everything is from God and in God. He has told me many times that I should do even ordinary things with the intention of coming closer to God in order to be rewarded. As for sleeping, he sleeps three hours at night, an hour or two after the morning prayers, and sometimes an hour in the afternoon. As for worship, he worships more than any other individual I have seen.

Presently, most of his talk is about the issues of the day, but when he is with his children, wife, and family, he tries to be like them. He tries to be calm and treats everyone with respect. The imam respects my mother very much and as far as I remember, he waits for her to come before he begins to eat his lunch or dinner. About the imam's feelings, you have to ask his old friends. The imam is a poet and composes good poetry. You should see the imam when he hears the news of the martyrdom of his friends. Despite his being a mountain of patience, he is all emotion.

We Did Not Have the Courage to Report the Martyrdom of Beheshti to Him

For instance, when the late martyr Beheshti was martyred, we did not have the courage to tell him. One of my jobs during these three years since the revolution has been to report to him the news of the martyrdom of his friends. I try to start with their having been wounded; but, more recently, he does not give me the chance and as soon as I say, for instance, Mr Madani or Dastqeyb has been the target of terrorism, he asks if he has been martyred. My silence tells all. The imam was strongly saddened by the martyrdoms of Raja'i and Beheshti. He sincerely said that Beheshti had lived as an oppressed victim and died as one. Please ask more about the imam from his old friends who had close relations with him. You can discover the spiritual dimensions of his honor from between the lines of what they say.

As the imam's son, I do not have the courage to speak of his character, because he says that I should not praise him. I hope that this insignificant amount will not upset him.

Biography of the Imam's Son

Question: Thank you for telling us about the imam, even if briefly. It was worth hearing and, as you said, it must be witnessed, because it cannot be described. Now, it would be appropriate and interesting to hear the biography of the imam's son from his own lips. In our opinion, it is necessary for each one of the authorities to offer their own biography and such has been the case, to a certain extent. We are waiting to hear about your education, your activities, and your past struggles.

Answer: About myself: The first day that I was sent to school, I ran away! Then, after beatings from my father and my teacher, I would go to class. Up to the sixth grade of elementary school, I was beaten quite a lot by teachers. They would break the ice in the pool and put my hands in the cold water for perhaps half an hour. Then, they would bring the switch. I do not know why they beat me so much. It is true that I was naughty, but that was no reason to beat me with a stick every day. You could not help it; the old educational system allowed it. Interestingly, I finished the seventh, eighth, and ninth grades with beatings. Every morning, the vice principle, Mr Mahmud Tavakkol, would call out my name and I would know that the whole thing would only be six lashes with the switch. I would hang my head, enjoy my beating, hang my head to walk to the class, and the second hour, I would run away. In the third year of high school, I became a member of the Qom soccer team. I was smaller than everyone else, but I loved soccer. In the fifth grade of high school, I became captain of the Qom soccer team. I do not remember being beaten from the tenth grade on. Perhaps I had become a man. In the

ninth grade, also, there were not many beatings; but in the eighth grade, there were beatings every day. In order to let you know how naughty I was, suffice it to say that my left leg was sprained and my right leg eight times. My left arm was sprained at the elbow and broken at the forearm and wrist. My upper left arm and wrist were broken. Almost without exception, all of my fingers have been broken several times. I do not remember about my head, but I am sure that it was cracked more than 20 times. But should all this have been reason enough for my daily beatings? On the whole, I was not a good student. By the way, I must say that in the eighth grade, despite all the beatings, I failed in five subjects and was not allowed to retake the exams. They told me that I would have a stronger foundation. The following year, I failed in six subjects, in the eighth grade again; but I did not tell anyone. Up to a week before the summer examinations, we were in Karaj. I came back to Qom and within a week, I had studied the six subjects, taken the examinations, and passed, because I was intelligent.

With Martyr Chamran

After I received my diploma, I made two trips to Iraq without a passport. On one of the trips, I got some military training from the dear martyr, Dr Chamran. I also went on two trips to Iraq, Syria, and Lebanon with a passport. I forgot to tell you that after my diploma, I came to Tehran; the Shahin team had invited me. To tell you the truth, I wanted to leave Iran through that team and not return. But I was not chosen, which was fair, because others were better than I was. After I failed in this area, I started off by myself and quietly set out for Iraq by way of Abadan. On my return from one of the trips to Iraq, I was arrested. For nearly three months, I was neither tortured nor bothered. In Najaf, I put on the clerical garb and began to study there and later in Qom. I studied "Sath" with Messers Abtahi, Sadeqi, Mohammad Fazel, and Soltani.

With Martyr Mottahari

Of course, I studied mostly with Mr Abtahi and for lectures, I went to Mr Musa Zanjani and Mr Ha'eri, and in Najaf, I studied with the imam and my late brother. I also participated in the lessons which Mr Mottahari taught in Qom two days a week.

During the time I was in Qom, like other theological students, I made attempts to distribute the imam's communiques against the previous government and regime among the people. Gradually, I began to think that we needed copying equipment.

With Mr Hashemi

I went to Mr Hashemi in Tehran. Through Mr Tavakkoli, he provided us with a photocopy machine. I had already rented a room in the house of one of our acquaintances and began to work there. Among the people who were with us from the start were Mr Musavi-Kho'inihah and Mr Vahedi.

[Question] Which Mr Vahedi?

[Answer] The same one who is working for KEYHAN newspaper . . . Gradually, our work expanded and our place became too small. We bought a house near the imam's house in Qom in Mr Vahedi's name. We collected the money for it by pleading with different people, because Mr Pasandideh would not give the money if he did not know about the whole affair. And we could not tell him. This house provided us more room to work. Mr Musavi-Kho'iniha, who had connections with other groups, provided us with a copying machine. We had previously been using a simpler machine. Mr Musavi-Kho'iniha was arrested. He informed me through his wife that I should leave Iran. I went to Pakistan for 15 days; of course, without letting him know what I was going to do. Immediately, I contacted Mr Mohammad Montazeri. He came to the border of Iran and Pakistan. During the two weeks that I was in Pakistan, I gained valuable experience. On my return, I informed Mr Vahedi, more or less, of the situation. Meanwhile, a person was introduced to us so that through him in Iran, we could cooperate with another group. Incidentally, we were engaged in printing the Jalal [Al-e Ahmad] book, "Dar Khedmat va Khianat-e Roshanfekran" [On the Services and Disservices of Intellectuals]. (Meanwhile, in order to make sure that our work was ideologically 100 percent correct, we contacted Mr Khamene'i in Mashhad. I became the contact, visiting him many times and informing him on events, to a certain extent. Of course, at this time, Mr Hashemi was in prison, otherwise, we would have consulted him first.) We made contact with the above-mentioned group through martyr Mohammad Montazeri. In the beginning, my wife was responsible for contacting them in order to make sure that no one from the opposition was watching us. It was done in this way: Twice a week, they would leave their messages in a tomb in the new cemetery in the morning and we would pick them up that afternoon. We did this two days a week. I sent a message to Mohammad Montazeri that this was difficult and we did not want to work openly with a group that we did not know very well. At that time, he worked with Mr Gharazi and Mr Jannati in Syria. They sent a person by the name of Sa'id to me, who became our contact. We also made contact with Mr Hashemi, the son-in-law of Grand Ayatollah Montazeri, through martyr Montazeri. We no longer had any problems in this regard. Together, we had all the equipment, including a paper shredder and printing machines. With the arrest of Mr Kho'iniha, we decided to bring Mr Khatemi into

action. Thank God, he helped us in every way. Mr Hashemi was arrested. After his arrest, after one or two weeks, I contacted the Esfahan people, one or two of whom had been introduced to us by Mr Hashemi so that if he should be arrested, I would contact them. One of them was Mr Ruhani, the good clergyman of Esfahan. Then, we established two safehouses, one in Esfahan and one in Tehran. Of course, we did not tell Mr Ruhani, because there was a great possibility of his arrest. Unfortunately, small differences arose among our friends in Syria, which was about to involve us as well. While I was there, I did not allow it; but when I went to Iraq, and when, after my brother's martyrdom, I decided to stay there, one or two confiscations took place in Qom. Mr Vahedi was involved in one. In a letter sent to me by one of our friends through the well-known Sheykh 'Abbas . . .

[Question] Martyr Andarzgu?

[Answer] Yes. Through that highly revered sayyid, they posed the problem seriously. From there on, I said that this was not in the interest of our organizational work. However, this business escalated over an issue which I am not yet at liberty to reveal. Large publishing equipment, which was in another safehouse and for which Sa'id was the contact who knew about it, were transferred to another safehouse during the night. The differences between Sa'id and martyr Montazeri in Syria caused the unsettling problem in Qom, which was resolved through the mediation of friends.

[Question] Once it was said that your group was responsible for the explosion at the cinema in Qom.

[Answer] One of our friends has said in an interview that I or our group was responsible for the explosion at the cinema in Qom; however, this is not true. Martyr Andarzgu spent the night in our house and claimed that he had done it that day. Hence, I find it necessary to refute this claim.

I have said these things today because you have asked me to tell you about my struggles. Otherwise, as I had not said anything during this period, I would not have said anything today either. Just do not forget that the imam's son, who had been carefully watched by SAVAK, worked so extensively without SAVAK finding out. This was important in my view. I tried to make it look as though some of the other friends, who have asked not to be named, had had a role in distributing handouts in Qom and other cities.

With Mr Kho'iniha

I must thank my dear brother, Mr Musavi-Kho'iniha, for his troubles. He was sentenced to 15 years imprisonment but did not speak about us and did not expose anyone. Here, I must mention

our good friend who works in the imam's office, Mr Rahmani, whom I brought from Quchan to Qom and set up with his wife and children in one of the safehouses. This was the best cover for our work. And he really worked hard. I have spoken of some of our friends because we have no organizational work today and I hope God will accept it. We also had contacts with Europe and the United States, but [as published].

[Question] Were there any contacts abroad?

[Answer] We had contacts in Europe and the United States, but one way, because the brothers in Najaf and Syria did not trust them enough to tell them anything. And they were right. I must mention Mr Do'a'i, who was one of the most unique individuals in the just struggle against the shah. We sent our information to him in Najaf.

[Question] Then, he was in charge of the information from the beginning?

[Answer] Yes . . . We sent our information and news to him in Najaf. At the time, he managed the radio, Voice of the Clergymen [Seda-ye Ruhaniyyat]. Unfortunately, on a trip to Mashhad, he had brought weapons, but he was not able to contact us in Qom. For this reason, I complained to him after I went to Najaf. In Najaf, also, I worked as much as I could to present the imam with the untempered news from Iran. With Mr Do'a'i and some of our friends, we would sit by the telephone for hours to bring the news to the imam as it was. Thank God, during the short time that I was in Najaf, the struggles heightened and we went to Kuwait and then to Paris. And, thank God, from there, we came to Iran, and then, the rest of the events happened, which you know as well as I do. I have explained in detail the story of our trip to Paris, which was printed in ETTELA'AT and KEYHAN. I am indebted a great deal to Mr Hashemi-Rafsanjani for being my teacher in the issues of the struggle. The late Rabbani-Shirazi was also a person who both understood and worked well. After Ayatollah Montazeri, he was the most distinguished person of the [theological] center in the struggle, may he rest in peace. This has been a summary of what I have to say about myself. May God guide us and take us out of this world along His path.

Question: About the present time. What are you doing at present? We have not seen you given any responsibility. Of course, you explained earlier that the imam does not want you to accept any official responsibility. Nevertheless, we would like to ask what responsibilities you have at the present time; or, to put it bluntly, what do you do?

Answer: I have no job. That is, I do not have a government job. I do some work in the imam's office; but, actually, I am almost without work. My job is to bring the news from abroad to the imam. Of course, the imam is informed through various channels about events and I am only one of those channels. Of course, since I am not prevented from going places, I go many places. Well, what can they do? They are embarrassed to say not to come. Sometimes, the imam has something to do and he tells me to send his messages to some person or vice versa. Most weeks, we have weekly meetings with the heads of the three branches and Mr Khamene'i and I report the results to the imam.

Question: Now, permit us to talk a little about the points of recent history, which are a collection of bitter and sweet and at the same time shattering events in this country. In the beginning of the interview, we said that you have witnessed the movement of history and its changes first hand. You have witnessed 5 June and the subsequent events, the events of Qom, the exile of the imam to Turkey and Najaf, then the events in Paris, and especially those unclear points which have raised and still raise questions, the relations of persons such as Mr Bani-Sadr, Mr Qotbzadeh, and others. the issue concerning them is, to a certain extent, a dead issue; but in other respects, it still raises questions and requires explanation. With your struggling past, which you described, you must have sharp insight into these individuals and the explanation of their stories. You do and we are waiting to hear it.

The Paris Companions

[Answer] You have brought up a series of issues. I will try to say something brief about old times when I was in Qom, then in Najaf and Paris, and about the individuals who came and went in Qom, Najaf, and Paris, and the things that happened to the imam's family and me in Qom while the imam was residing in Najaf.

I will have to begin with the past, as you did. I was 16 years old when they put my father in prison in Tehran. On 5 June 1963, when he was arrested and imprisoned, I was in the fourth year of high school. When he was exiled to Turkey, I was in the sixth year of high school. I had better talk quickly to get to the recent crisis. The first year that the imam was in Najaf, I went there by way of Abadan and soon after returned. The following year, I went back to Najaf the same way and there, put on the clerical garb. I studied as a theological student in Qom for eight years. Then I set out for Najaf with a passport. During the first days after my entry, my brother was martyred. I found it necessary to stay in Najaf. After my brother's martyrdom, the issues of the Iranian revolution escalated. I was not in Najaf for more than a year when I went with the imam to Paris. I wrote about our trip some time ago. In Najaf, I did not meet the people

who were in Europe and the United States, although some of them, such as Bani-Sadr, Qotbzadeh, Yazdi, and others, had visited the imam during the 15 years he was in Najaf. But this was during the time when I was in Qom. During the 15 years that the imam was in Najaf, I ran his household, with the help of his friends. The imam's deputies were exiled one after another. The imam's house in Qom has experienced many ups and downs, which is a history by itself. Because of the sensitiveness of the imam's home in Qom, not a week or a month went by in which the regime did not raid us or question us. I tried not to do the slightest thing that would cause the imam discontent and, thank God, I was successful. SAVAK put a lot of pressure on me to go there. They did not want to arrest me, but they wanted me to go on my own.

The year that I returned from Najaf with a turban, I was imprisoned for two or three months. They neither bothered me nor tortured me. I was only in prison. The government and SAVAK counted a lot on the imam's house. For a long time, visits to the house were forbidden and agents guarded the house round the clock. Several times, despite the fact that the imam was in Najaf, they raided the house and took all his books, most of which we have not yet recovered.

When they realized that I would not give in by any means, several persons came to me in one of the alleys of Qom and said that they were from the security agency and that I must go with them to SAVAK. I said what I always said. I said I must first ask my father's permission. So, they beat me severely and I went unconscious. When I came to, the people had gathered around me and collected my books, which were scattered all over, and handed them to me. Despite this, I did not abandon my lessons; but that day, I was quite incensed. As I mentioned, after I had lived a year in Najaf, the Iranian events occurred.

'The Gentlemen from the West'

And then there was the 40th day after the 40th [day of 'Ashura], which resulted in our departure to Paris. In Paris, the gentlemen from the West tried very hard to make themselves intimate with the imam and succeeded. That is, they were able to pretend to be among the imam's supporters. Bani-Sadr, Qotbzadeh, and others tried to make the people believe that they were friends of the imam. In order to neutralize this, a few days after we went to Paris, we announced that the imam had no spokesman or representative. We posted this on the imam's house in several languages. Nevertheless, not a day went by that one of these gentlemen did not pretend to be the imam's representative or spokesman and say or do or write something and claim it to be the imam's. I had not seen Bani-Sadr before Paris. In fact, I met him in Paris. So, I did not know him and Qotbzadeh very well. Neither I nor others knew them very well.

During the three or four months that we were in Paris, it was so busy that one could not discover the inner secrets of individuals. All of our friends thought of them at that time as combative supporters of the imam. Hence, they were placed on the Revolution Council or became ministers and officials.

Question: It would be interesting to know what Bani-Sadr or Qotbzadeh said in their visits to the imam and what the imam's reactions were.

Answer: Perhaps you mean the imam's reaction to Bani-Sadr and Bani-Sadr's to the imam, the behavior of the imam toward Bani-Sadr and Qotbzadeh, and their behavior toward the imam. They were two-faced. In the end, Bani-Sadr was obstinate and hardheaded, but Qotbzadeh was calm and polite and said he was a devoted servant. The imam, of course, would not change.

The Imam's Vote in the Presidential Elections

[Question] There is always the question of the imam's vote in the presidential elections, whether the imam really voted for this person (Bani-Sadr) or not, because many contradictory things have been said.

Answer: The imam did not vote for Bani-Sadr in the presidential elections. Only I know this, because I was with the imam. At that time, the imam was in very bad condition. An hour before the ballot box was brought in, he had had an attack. I remember that at the time when the doctors would not allow the imam to speak, he signaled to me with his eyes. I brought my ear close to his mouth and he said with much effort that if anything happened, not to let anyone know until the evening. See what a great act it was. In that condition, the imam thought about the Islamic nation and society. In that condition, he did not want to disrupt the situation and the voting in Iran.

In that condition, when the imam's blood pressure was five, he wanted the elections to take place in a normal manner and the situation to settle down. Who else in that condition could think this way except the imam? This is very important. This is one of the great events of history. Most importantly, the imam was careful not to vote for Bani-Sadr and I voted the same way. Since I had seen the imam's vote, I could not religiously and logically vote for anyone else. Why did the imam not vote [for him]? Because, from what he knew of the treacherous Bani-Sadr in Iran, he guessed he would not be able to finish this task properly. They brought the ballot box to the "C.C.U." The imam and I voted and they took the box outside for other people to vote.

I Do Not Have Permission to Tell Who the Imam Voted for

Presently, I cannot, that is, I do not have permission to tell for whom or how the imam voted. If he grants me permission, I will tell. Every time that Bani-Sadr came to the imam, the imam would say, keep yourself removed from the Mojahedin and the corrupt groups. The people and the clergy are good for you. If you do not have the foresight, you will not be able to do anything in Iran. But he followed his own calculated plan. He did not listen to what he was told. He did not listen to what the imam said. Many times I asked the imam what I was to do, since Bani-Sadr was this way. But, despite the fact that the imam was suffering because of Bani-Sadr, he would say: Since you are related to me, you should not react to what he does.

In the end, despite being so hurt by this mercenary traitor, the imam would try to make his speeches in a way that the people would not say: So, this is our president.

The Imam's Frequent Warnings to Bani-Sadr

In the end, when the situation was coming to a head, when he came to the imam, the imam would reprimand him. The imam even told him once: Do not think that you got the votes; the people support Islam. The votes they gave to you do not belong to you, they belong to Islam. The people thought you were a believer, that the interests of the country and the nation are on your mind, and that you oppose what they oppose. So, they voted for you. But if one day it becomes clear to the people what you are, they will stand against you. But he said, most impertinently: No, sir. I have so many votes and if votes were taken right now, I would have even more. But the imam was trying to prevent the first president from ending up like this. When they would come all together to the imam, the imam would say: Try not to make the situation turn out such that I would feel obliged to do my religious duty; try not to disturb the situation. This was really important to the imam. But when the imam saw that he would not by any means listen to sound advice, he first dismissed him as commander-in-chief of the armed forces and then he signed the decision of the Majlis. Thank God, one of the greatest threats to this republic was neutralized by the imam.

Bani-Sadr's Dismissal as Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces

Question: You have spoken about how Bani-Sadr was appointed as commander. Let us complete the discussion with that interesting story about how he was dismissed by the imam.

Answer: I frequently said to the imam that he wanted to create a rift between the guards corps and the military, that he attacked all the good religious men, that he tried his best to set the

Guards Corps against the military and the military against the Guards Corps and wanted to dissolve the committees in the police precincts. When he was the commander-in-chief of the armed forces, he would by no means give weapons to the defenders of Islam. God knows how we tried to get, for instance, a few "RPG-7s" to send to the front. I remember, we sent one of our friends to Qazvin because we heard that there were "RPG-7s" there. He brought back only seven or nine "RPG-7s," which he took to the front. We were very happy to have sent weapons to the south. We told him so many times that Khorramshahr was going to fall. He would not listen. I reported all of this to the imam. The imam would say: Do you think I do not understand? This is not the time for it. When the time comes, I will decide. I said: All right; whatever you say, I will do, because, aside from the fact that it is a religious duty, experience has shown that your excellency understands the issues better than anyone else, but in my opinion, his remaining is so harmful as to be irreparable.

One evening, the imam called me and said: Go right now, gather and consult with our friends and let me know. But it is certain that he should be dismissed as commander-in-chief of the armed forces. That night, I went to the house of the late martyr Beheshti--may God grant his soul eternal rest in Paradise--and told him the story. We also asked Mr Hashemi to come. Mr Khamene'i was in the hospital. After consulting with them, I wrote the text of Bani-Sadr's dismissal and read it to them. They agreed to it. Then I brought it to the imam and he signed it. It was interesting that this only took a couple of hours.

The Imam Said: Tonight, at This Very Moment, You Must . . .

The imam said: What are you waiting for? Take it to the radio; do not let it wait until tomorrow morning. Here, you can only come to one conclusion; that is, that the imam, at the moment that he feels his religious duty, is not prepared to put off an issue, not even the dismissal of the commander-in-chief of the armed forces, until the next morning.

The imam instructed that the military be called. I called that night and found everyone. Early in the morning, they came and the imam spoke to them. He said: Go to your work and rest assured that everything is all right. Then, Bani-Sadr asked to see the imam, but the imam did not let him in. Bani-Sadr apparently always insisted on the point that the first president should not stand up against the imam. He thought he was a power and that he had the ability to do so. We must realize that if Bani-Sadr could have done it one day, he would have stood up against the imam and worse. I told this to Mr Rabbani-Amlashi, the prosecutor general of the country, before his election to the presidency. Ask him about it. He had made a pact with everybody, with the Mojahedin, with the National Front, and with

others; awaiting the day that he would reach the point he wanted. He expected many things. When the imam was in the hospital and even when the imam came to Jamaran, he told me many times that the imam would not live for more than a few months! See what impertinence it takes to say a thing like that to the imam's son and make my heart bleed with such statements. He wanted to send the doctors that he had dealings with to the imam to take an electrocardiogram of the imam's heart to be sent abroad in order to know exactly what the imam's physical condition was. I knew what he was after and would never allow such a thing. I told the imam that he was like this. But the imam would say: Pretend you do not know; I know better what he is.

More of a Hypocrite than Rajavi

Question: Considering the issues that you mentioned from the hospital and later on, the question is, why did the imam not dismiss him during the elections?

Answer: The imam gradually came to realize what he was after he became president. Without a doubt, if the imam had known him as he was and is, he would not have agreed to his presidency and would not have allowed it to end like that. You know that in the primaries, the competence of the presidential candidates had to legally be endorsed by the imam. He could have opposed it then. Did he not do so in regards to Rajavi, saying that he was not competent? He could have said the same about Bani-Sadr. Their behavior was so hypocritical that no one could have imagined that they were like that.

Question: Considering what happened later on, could it not be said that Bani-Sadr was, from the beginning, in contact with the espionage organization? Does it not seem that he and the likes of him came to Iran directly from the "CIA" with calculated plans?

Answer: I do not know whether he is a CIA agent or not; but I can say decisively, and it became clearer to me every day, that his actions were 100 percent in the interests of the United States and global colonialism. He was trying to destroy the main line of the revolution, which was headed by the imam. He did not by any means believe in this line. He made fun of theocratic rule. We all know about his attitude towards the Majlis. He did not want to write Islamic Consultative Assembly. He said: I write "Consultative Assembly," but those who type it write "Islamic Consultative Assembly," because it is against the law! I told all of this to the imam. And his attitude towards the government was perfectly clear. What was it the late martyr Raja'i--may God grant his soul eternal rest in Paradise--used to say? Was not all that he did on the path of God and Islam? It was also clear what he would do with the judicial branch. We

have now come to the conclusion that if he had not had relations with foreign powers from the start and if he had not made a pact with domestic counterrevolutionaries, would he have done what he did? His actions were all detrimental to the Islamic Republic and in the interests of the foreigners. We have not been hurt by any heathen as much as we have been hurt by him.

Consultation with the Imam and Mr Hashemi

On everything that I was going to do in regards to him and his faction, I would consult with the imam and often with Mr Hashemi as well. I can say that there was nothing that I did without consulting Mr Hashemi. Of course, except for Amjadiyyeh, which was a mistake and I confess to this mistake. If a person makes a mistake and confesses, this is bravery.

My Greatest Honor is That I Am at the Imam's Service

Question: Now that you have touched on many issues, the point comes to mind of why, given all this, Bani-Sadr asked of the imam that you become prime minister? What was his objective?

Answer: In a letter to the imam, he asked him to agree to my becoming prime minister. With this action, he wanted to tell the people: See what a humble person I am; I am prepared to act in accordance with the wishes of the imam and make the imam's son prime minister. It was obvious that the imam would oppose it.

An imam who does not want me to accept even a small job, how could he agree to my being prime minister? So, as usual, he opposed it. Sometimes friends come and ask the imam if, for instance, Ahmad should not have such and such a position. The imam says: It is better for him to be free. My greatest honor is that I am at the service of the imam and carry out what he wants me to do. May God accept this.

Question: The openness and sincerity of this interview and the fact that we have spoken about the plan for becoming prime minister make it appropriate to speak of other issues which have sometimes existed and have been vague and have raised questions, for instance, the actions of the hypocrites and the analysis of the third line.

Answer: Here, I would like to clarify what you have heard about me during these three years. As the imam's son, whatever I did immediately caused a reaction. Hence, I tried and still try to speak less, lest my statements be taken advantage of, as has been the case during this period. For instance, in an ordinary gathering and a very ordinary conversation, I suggested that a third line must be followed. Later on, I explained that I meant the imam's line. Could one speak of anything religiously and

logically other than the imam's line and believe in it? Many took advantage of this. One night, I thought to myself and came to the conclusion that I should not remain silent. I said that what I do and say must not deviate from the imam's wishes, otherwise, I would be a sinner for two reasons: First, for taking advantage of my relationship with the imam, because that is why people come to me; otherwise, there are many like me and many others better than I. Secondly, if, God forbid, some people decide to take advantage, as they have, and I remain silent, I would be the subject of God's wrath. Take, for instance, the noises they made about that one meeting, which was only one meeting and no more. Of course, the imam himself and my close friends, such as Mr Hashemi and Mr Khamene'i, knew. But others did not know. Therefore, I explained it. Or the murdering hypocrites were trying to take advantage of every issue, and they did so. But again, the imam realized it and, happily, the imam was and is satisfied with me. They would write letters in my name which had nothing to do with me. The imam knows that it was I who would mention it to him that, for example, Rajavi had not voted for the Constitution and that he could not be a candidate for the presidency. My friends knew my positions against these people very well and still do, but they would not permit me to speak and told me to be silent. Silence can solve all problems. In the beginning, it was they who said my money was all in Paris and that I constantly went to such countries. Again, the imam said: Be silent, because falsehood comes out into the open even through silence. Even now, I do not say or write anything in defense of myself. But you should know very well that with everything I did, or most of what I did, I would first inform Mr Hashemi, at the top of our list of friends. You can ask Mr Hashemi about my role in the dismissal of Bani-Sadr as the commander-in-chief of the armed forces and in exposing his treacherous plan. Mr Hashemi and other friends know that if it had not been for me, most of the actions would not have been taken so quickly. Martyr Beheshti mentioned this many times. I do not say that I did not make mistakes, but since I was related to the imam, they made a mountain out of a mole hill. Otherwise, everybody else made more mistakes than I did; but, then, not everybody else was the son of the imam.

What They Did with Martyr Mohammad Montazeri

Look at the late martyr Mohammad Montazeri. Because he was the son of Grand Ayatollah Montazeri, everything that he did was publicized with so much noise. How they portrayed this godly guerrilla to the society. Had he not been the son of that old guerrilla, that dear, great leader and source of emulation, he would have been like thousands of others who made mistakes. I only say this so that I will be forgiven by the noble people if I have made a mistake. And if I have not made mistakes, the people should know that they were trying to separate me from our friends

from every direction, but it was impossible because of my own awareness. I do not say that I was without mistakes. I say that my simple mistakes were multiplied. However, the imam cannot praise me, because I neither deserve it nor is it the imam's custom. I only say that I ask his holiness to mediate for me before the Almighty, because it is only He who must be satisfied with any human being.

About Qotbzadeh

Question: One of those about whom certain things have been said because of the events in Paris and the beginning of the revolution was Qotbzadeh, whose recent feats we have witnessed, that is, what he did which we have caught. How did he behave with the imam?

Answer: As I said, Qotbzadeh's attitude was exactly the opposite of Bani-Sadr's. He would come with the attitude: I am your humble servant. He would say many times that he was prepared to be the imam's cook, or that the imam should make his salary religiously sanctioned, or that he would receive it from the imam. For God's sake, see what deceptive faces they would put on and later what would show up. And you must know about his recent actions. Of course, I knew some time ago what they wanted to do. That is, when Mr Reyshahri realized the situation was sensitive and that they were going to bomb the imam's house, he came to tell us and warn us to be careful. They wanted to destroy the imam's house with artillery. Also, they wanted to bomb another house which was under construction next to the imam's house so that the imam's house and Jamaran quarters would be destroyed.

Precisely a week earlier, he had sent sweets to the imam and us and the imam was very surprised by these actions. You see, on the surface, he says that he would prefer to be a cook in the imam's house to being president, but he really wanted to be the imam's murderer! In brief, do you see this thinker and politician of the century? Bani-Sadr had said that he realized it was not the time to kill the imam and Mr Qotbzadeh had realized it was the time for it.

Bani-Sadr and Qotbzadeh Were Adversaries of One Another from Paris

Question: How were relations between these two--meaning Mr Thinker-of-the-Century and the politician of the century? Since you saw them closely, how did you find their relationship?

Answer: Of course, Qotbzadeh and Bani-Sadr had been adversaries since Paris. It had nothing to do with here. In fact, the impious cannot get along because every action is either in one or the other's interests. When something is in the interests of

one, the rest oppose it. Brother Do'a'i knows that most of those who have gone to the West never, or almost never, got along, under any circumstances. Many times in Paris, the imam asked them not to quarrel, but it did no good.

The Imam's Vote in the Next Elections

Question: You said that the imam did not vote for Bani-Sadr. Who did he vote for in the following elections?

Answer: The imam did not vote for Bani-Sadr, but he voted for martyr Raja'i and Mr Khamene'i. It was imperative that we also vote along with the imam, although the imam had said frequently that we should vote for any person we wanted.

Three Stages of the Imam's Speeches

Question: The imam recognized Bani-Sadr as false. This was especially more evident in the later days. Why did the speaker criticize both sides of the dispute? Of course, those who paid close attention to his words would recognize who was being addressed and what the story was. But there are some who still think that at that time, the imam was criticizing both sides.

Answer: I disagree. The imam's speeches during Bani-Sadr's time must be divided into three parts:

1. The stage when the imam did not want to openly take a position and wanted to guide both sides as far as possible in order to make it possible to work. It was in those speeches that the people could not precisely distinguish the imam's position in order to follow it. The imam found it necessary to praise Bani-Sadr and also the opposite side. Well, you see, in this way, the people who wanted to follow the imam responded to Bani-Sadr because they said that the imam had praised him.

[2.] The second stage was when the imam gradually moved the people in a direction which enabled them to distinguish the good from the bad.

The Imam Spoke of Standards

For instance, he said: Anyone who weakens the government is a traitor. Anyone who weakens the Supreme Judicial Council has not acted upon his sacred duty. Anyone who weakens the Islamic Republic walks in the line of the United States. Anyone who causes differences and is not prepared to act in accordance with the law is dependent on foreigners. Do not say I, say my ideology. The people voted for Islam. We act upon the restrictions and other laws line by line. Do not support the groups. Do not weaken the revolution courts. Anyone who says

there is torture in Iranian prisons is surely connected with foreign elements. Thank God, it became known that there was no torture and those who said there was wanted to weaken the Islamic Republic. Anyone who weakens the Islamic Republic is an ally of and in cooperation with the United States.

The Imam's Skill in Presenting the Issue Gradually

The people gradually noted that our friends had neither weakened the government nor the Supreme Judicial Council. They had neither said that there was torture, nor were they against the various Islamic restrictions, nor did they say "I." Then, who was it that had so openly done all this? It was Bani-Sadr. Then the imam meant Bani-Sadr. At this stage, which was during the last three or four months of Bani-Sadr's rule, the imam guided the issue so skillfully that it deserves analysis. Our friends had not made pacts with the groups. It was Bani-Sadr who was supporting and cooperating with the godless, murdering hypocrites. On the other hand, our friends spoke of ideology. The imam had said: Do not say "I," say "my ideology"; for anyone who insults the ideology, his wife is religiously forbidden to him. Who else but they ridiculed the followers of the ideology? See how delicately the imam moved? The issue became clear little by little. During this time, if you look at the events between two speeches by the imam and then analyze his speeches you will conclude that 80 percent of the imam's speeches consisted of attacks against the treacherous actions of Bani-Sadr and 20 percent was vague and you could not distinguish what the imam's intention was. For instance, in this 20 percent, the imam would say: I will take away anything that I gave anybody.

Well, he had not given things to Bani-Sadr alone. He had also given things to our friends. Or [he would say]: The day that I feel I must do my religious duty, I will show you all to the people. Who were all? Both sides? Or the enemy's side? It was vague again.

The Third Stage

[3.] The third stage was one of openness, when he said: Whatever I said did no good; he must go. It was the same "he must go" that the imam had said of the shah. It was the end. It was finished. And this was what the imam said when Messers Madani, Dastqeyb, Sadduqi, and Taheri came to him to ask what to do. He said: It will take a matter of minutes or a few hours to remove Bani-Sadr. Do not worry. You saw and we saw that it did not take more than a few minutes or a few hours.

Could the dismissal of Bani-Sadr have been handled in any better way than the way the imam did it? By God, no. This is not my opinion alone, but the opinion of all the experts. After all,

the above-mentioned gentlemen had come to the imam one day to ask what was going to happen to Iran, because they were worried and they wanted to know what to do. The imam said, smiling: Do not be afraid. Nothing will happen. When I feel it is time, I will immediately finish the job. Do not be worried. And exactly this happened. The faces of the gentlemen looked very contented upon their return from the imam, because their minds had been set at ease. Each one returned to his town happy.

The Three-Member Committee to Resolve the Differences

Question: Tell us if there are important points about the three-member committee which was formed after the imam's communique to examine the differences between the two sides of the quarrel.

Answer: This was one of the instances in which I consulted with Mr Hashemi. We wanted this committee to be made up in such a way that it could examine everything carefully and factually. Were Bani-Sadr to choose a person, that person would not dare to say that Bani-Sadr was in the wrong and had transgressed his authority; as soon as the two representatives, the imam's representative and our friends' representative, would say something against him, his representative would resign and the committee would dissolve. So, it was decided that his representative must be a person who would look at the issues as they were and who would not resign.

The Participation of Ayatollah Eshraqi on the Committee

I thought of Ayatollah Eshraqi, may God bless his soul. He said that this issue would threaten his public image. I said: Accept it for the sake of God. He accepted. But the Bani-Sadr group would not agree. That is why, you see, that the person he was to choose was chosen very late. It took a lot of effort on my part to make them agree and our minds were set at ease that the committee would not be dissolved. I knew that it was he [Bani-Sadr] who was constantly making mistakes under the instruction of the groups and organizations. Finally, you saw that Mr Eshraqi said in a communique that no matter what they tried to get him to act in accordance with the law, it was not possible. So, we decided to thank Ayatollah Eshraqi as a person who accepted putting himself at the disposal of Islam. Of course, Mr Eshraqi sometimes took certain positions so that they would not claim that he had not even spoken one word in their behalf. On this issue, also, I consulted with the imam and explained my reasoning to him. I also consulted with Mr Hashemi about the selection of Mr Eshraqi and he agreed with my reasoning.

Question: Do you remember anything about the meeting to end animosities which took place after 5 March? It has been said that it was a very important and interesting meeting.

Go After Bani-Sadr and See Who the People with Him Are

Answer: After 5 March, Iran was going through the most critical situation. Every day there was a rumor, something said or written, or a picture. During those days, the imam was very unhappy. He could see the hands of foreign elements, domestic counterrevolutionaries, and especially the murdering hypocrites in these events. Perhaps a week after the events, I remember him saying: Invite the gentlemen to come and also invite Mr Bazargan. As far as I remember, the late martyr Beheshti was there and Mr Ardebili, Hashemi, Khamene'i, Bani-Sadr, and Bazargan were also there. I do not know whether Mr Mahdavi was there or not. Apparently, he was not. There was much discussion. Bani-Sadr did not realize what the imam was saying. The imam said: You cannot let yourself be a tool in the hands of this or that person. I wish there had been a tape recording of it.

The imam was trembling with his whole being. He reprimanded Bani-Sadr no end. And he was making threats because he had been provoked by the murdering hypocrites and his gang. Of course, he said a lot. But suddenly, he said something bad. I was shaking with rage, but I tolerated it. After half an hour, the imam left and said that everyone should write their ideas and give them to Ahmad to give to him.

The Details of That Meeting Should Be Written

Our friends were in the imam's house for a couple of hours. I went to the imam on the other side of the house. The imam said: Follow Bani-Sadr and see who the people are with him. I told him the Entezariun, the rest of his gang, and a few that I did not know. He said: In the near future, everything will change. I began to weep because the imam was upset and I left him. Later, the imam issued a communique from the writings. It was decided that a committee be formed, which was described earlier. All the people who were in that meeting should try to write down what they remember so that the meeting gets recorded approximately as it was. I do not want to say what was said in that meeting.

Question: What did they say when they came to the imam individually? What did they say about each other? It is said that martyr Beheshti's attitude was dignified and Bani-Sadr's was the opposite.

Answer: The imam said this openly about Mr Beheshti and the rest of the brothers were the same. Mr Beheshti and others never did speak badly of Bani-Sadr. Yes, this was so. They came and would mention the problems and analyze them. But they would by no means speak behind Bani-Sadr's back or speak ill of him. Bani-Sadr was quite the opposite. He would speak evil and talk behind

people's backs and the imam would constantly interrupt him so that he would not speak behind people's backs.

That is, Bani-Sadr continually attacked and they defended. Of course, they expressed their problems very clearly and would explain basically about the issues over which they had differences with Bani-Sadr. It was not personal problems and such.

[Question] Well, it seems that a long time has passed. Thank you for accepting us and for speaking with such warmth and sincerity. Our authorities, that is, the witnesses to the changes of the revolution, must keep the future in mind and speak, write, and record these segments of history.

Hopefully at other opportunities [we shall do] more.

God willing.

9593

CSO: 4640/296

PRESIDENT TALKS ABOUT WAR, AFGHAN PROBLEM, PALESTINE

Tehran JOMHURI-YE ESLAMI in Persian 25 Apr 82 p 12

[Interview with Seyyed 'Ali Khamene'i]

[Text] "We are confident the future of the war is in favor of Iran and to the advantage of the Islamic Republic.... We have no doubt as to the outcome of the war being in Iran's favor but as we have announced many times we do not insist on war to reach the objectives and aspirations of the Iranian nation.... The Afghan people are the decision makers concerning the Afghanistan issue and take priority over us and Pakistan if talks are to be held in this regard.... Now is the time Arab governments in this region must go to the aid of Muslim Palestinian brothers and to invest as much as they can against the occupying Israeli Government.... Because of its economic aid, the United States should come under strong pressure and threat." Hojjatol-Eslam val-Moslemin Seyyed 'ali Khamene'i, in an interview with the JOMHURI-YE ESLAMI NEWS AGENCY, replied to questions concerning the region and Iraq, Iran's conditions for accepting the UN invitation for resolving the Afghanistan problem, Islamic revolution in occupied Palestine and the role of the Islamic Republic of Iran in strengthening the Islamic revolution of Muslims in occupied territories. We now carry the full text of the interview for our dear readers.

Question: Eighteen months have passed since the war was imposed on Iran by Iraq, the fighting capabilities of our brothers at the fronts have increased manifold, big victories are taking place one after another on the battlefields and the despicable enemy is gradually being driven out. On one hand, mediation missions from the Islamic Conference, the Nonaligned Conference, the UN and other international bodies have travelled to Iran and Iraq in order to end the war between the two countries. On the other hand the propaganda and arms support of imperialism for the extinction-facing Iraqi regime continues as before. In view of the fact that none of these developments has so far caused the least change in the resolved and unshakeable determination of Iran in the past year and a half, as the president of Islamic Republic of Iran how do you see the future of the region?

Answer: In regard to the outcome of the war, we are not the only ones who say and believe that the outcome of the conflict will be in favor of Iran and to the advantage of the Islamic Republic. Even the most pessimistic or, to put it better, the most spiteful analysts of international political circles now concede that the war is going in favor of Iran, but as we have announced many times we do not insist on war to reach the objectives and aspirations of the Iranian nation. If the just rights of the Iranian nation, with the protection of the great Islamic Revolution taking precedence over all the others, can be achieved without resort to war, then we would respect such an outcome and would not go to war. The question is that the war has been imposed upon us. Even at this moment that the Iraqi forces are taking continuous beatings and nearing destruction, we see again that the regional and international supporters of Iraq are being stubborn in clearly, and at least quickly, giving consideration to our benevolent views. If these peace missions, of which some are even well-intentioned, accept views concerning the right of Iran, the effect will be to recognize the just rights of the Iranian nation and thereby also the rights of the people of Iraq.

It is possible that in such an event the gambling-den operators of the Iraqi regime may dread their losses in that they have to return to Iraq empty-handed after a long war which they started and the casualties and damages they suffered. But this would be much more preferable to the second alternate scenario which would have us pursue the Iraqi forces to the edge of the border. It does without saying that in such a case nothing will remain of Iraq, or, if it does, they would not have the organizational capability and will have lost much of their equipment. In that event too it can be said we achieved our just rights because in that case Iran would be able to prove that its revolution is a legitimate one and that its people are alive and able to defend their rights. This is very important for the general prestige of our revolution in the region. And the damages inflicted on the enemy would be much heavier. We clearly told the peace missions and even some of their members to whom we communicated our views in writing that two alternatives were available. One alternative is to determine the issue on the battlefield in which case there would be no reluctance of any sort on our part and our people have said they are ready for self-sacrifice in achieving their rights with the help of God. The other alternative would be not to pursue the matter through war and in that case the place for decisionmaking would be where talks and peace missions meet. They must be realistic. They must assess and predict the future correctly. Therefore, while we have full confidence in the future we are prepared to discuss the way to reach that future, whether it be through war or peaceful means we are prepared for either way and believe we shall be winners in any road the enemy chooses.

Question: The UN has recently begun efforts through its special representative to bring Iran, Pakistan and Afghanistan to the conference table to discuss the Afghanistan issue. Do you consider such efforts as giving some sort of legitimacy to the Soviet military presence in Afghanistan and imposing acceptance of this on Iran and Pakistan?

Answer: Even from the start we have refused to sit at a conference table at which representatives of the imposed government would be present and the people's representatives would not. They proposed this to us many times and

we rejected the proposals many times. They even made clear that the present ruling body of Afghanistan would not take part as the government but in the capacity of representing their party. We rejected this also, because those who are to make decisions concerning the affairs of Afghanistan are the Afghan people and if talks are to be held regarding the matter they take precedence over everybody else including ourselves and Pakistan. Therefore, up to now we have not accepted tripartite talks in the form described by you and shall not in the future either.

Question: It appears that Islamic movements in the heart of Palestinian occupied territories have assumed wide dimensions. Under what conditions, in your view, can the Islamic movement in Palestine spread to neighboring Arab countries, and does the Palestine Islamic movement basically spring from the Islamic Revolution of Iran?

Answer: Before we think about the spread of the Islamic movement of the people of Palestine to other countries, we must consider how this movement can assume wider proportions in Palestinian occupied territories. We have many times discussed this matter in various interviews and discourses. We believe this blessed spark which has been set off in the gunpowder storage in occupied territories must be boosted by Islamic peoples and governments claiming support for Palestine. This can be done in several ways. First, governments must mobilize all their resources in serving this new movement, such support not being limited to verbal backing or the usual political hullabaloo which have little effect of importance. Rather they should get involved in a more practical manner. We even sent messages in this vein to the heads of Islamic countries. Practical steps which can be stressed at the present time are the use of economic weapons. You know that huge sums of oil money are on deposit in the banks of European countries, of which some or most are supporters of Israel, and are being made use of. And you know that the oil of Muslim Arab countries which belong to Muslim countries is being used to service the West's huge technology. If we earnestly want to support the Palestine nation we must get these countries to agree to shut off such means of economic profit to governments who are opposed to the Arab nation and are friends with Israel. For example, France, which openly espouses support for the occupying government, should be denied all economic aid by the Arab peoples. Britain which cunningly supports Israel must also in turn be deprived of such highly profitable aid. The United States must be subjected to severe threat in this connection and also come under practical pressure. If these measures are taken, we have no doubt that foreign support for the occupying government will be ended since such backings are by themselves pressures upon the oppressed Muslim people of Palestine. We ourselves announced our preparedness to provide all kinds of help, even military aid. If they open the way for us today, we would not mind, despite our involvement in war, to send a part of our forces to the edge of the borders in order to help brother Palestinians. You know that recently severe clashes took place between Syrian forces and the Israeli aggressors. Now is the time for Arab governments of the region to come to the aid of Muslim brothers and to invest all they can against aggressor Israel. If we see such a movement, such a determined measure on both economic and military dimensions, we will believe that they are for the expansion of the internal movement in occupied territories. But if such support is not forthcoming we will doubt and would not believe their claims. For its part, the

Palestine Liberation Organization bears a heavy responsibility. We believe that besides political effort they must resort to military effort in helping brothers who are inside. It would be really good if seasoned forces from outside the borders were sent across the frontier to help brothers and sisters who are there alone. And of course general support of nations such as slogans, marches, strikes and similar acts would be a morale-booster when brothers inside hear about them. This type of support is a secondary stage.

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CSO: 4640/286

PRESIDENT HOPES 'TO CREATE ANTI-IMPERIALIST FRONT' WITH PDRK

Tehran ETTELA'AT in Persian 27 Apr 82 p2

[Text] Heading a political and economic delegation to our country, the Prime Minister of the People's Democratic Republic of Korea, Mr Yi Chong-ok met with President Seyyed 'Ali Khamene'i. The meeting was also attended by Prime Minister Engineer Musavi, Foreign Minister Dr Velayati, a number of other Iranian officials and the PDRK Ambassador to Tehran.

Matters of mutual interest were discussed in the meeting which was opened by President Khamene'i welcoming the PDRK Prime Minister and his delegation to Iran. Khamene'i expressed hope that the visit would further strengthen the pillars of friendly relations between the two countries, enabling them to create a powerful anti-imperialist front in the world to protect the rights of all nations and human beings. He said that the prime movers of such a front would naturally be the nations that have fought against imperialism for long years. "One example is your nation and another great example is the Iranian nation at this juncture in time," he told the PDRK Prime Ministers. Alluding to the expansionism of the American imperialism, the President said, "As you know, imperialism does not easily wash its hands of an area out of which it has been driven." This, he pointed out, explains the extensive efforts being made at the international level to harm 'our Islamic revolution'. The Koreans "are facing the same problems after all these years."

This problem, he added, emphasizes the necessity of a greater coordination and union among 'our forces' against the great enemy of humanity. "We are present anywhere in the world," Mr Khamene'i said, "where there is a trace of anti-American and anti-oppressor struggle." Anywhere the imperialism suffers a blow, it would be a victory for Iran. "We believe," the President said, the myth of the invincibility of imperialism has been shattered by the resistance of nations and human beings. The pressure imperialism brought to bear on us would have sufficed to ruin any nation and government. But "we stood against these pressures by relying on our faith and righteousness."

Referring to the war imposed on Iran by Iraq, the President said, "We defeated Iraq both in the military and political arenas. In fact we foiled the plot America carried out against us through Iraq. In this meeting the PDRK Prime Minister expressed gratitude for the reception given him and his delegation and handed to our President a message from Kim Il-song, the PDRK President.

He said that since "our two nations are fighting against American imperialism in a joint front, they are allies. Therefore they should help each other. We have always supported actively the struggles of the Iranian nation for safeguarding its Islamic revolution.

At the end of the meeting he conveyed to our President the invitation of Mr Kim Il-song to visit PDRK.

Meeting with Majlis Speaker

Yi Chong-ok the PDRK prime minister, yesterday also visited Hojjat ol-Eslam Hashemi Rafsanjani, the Speaker of the Majlis, and handed him a message from the PDRK President. Accompanied by his delegation members, the PDRK Prime Minister invited Mr Hashemi Rafsanjani to visit North Korea again. The Speaker of the Majlis thanked PDRK for its rightful stance in supporting Iran regarding the imposed war on Iran. He then discussed economic matters, oil and trade with the North Korean delegation. The meeting came to an end with the two sides stressing their joint stance against American imperialism.

9695

CSU: 4640/285

FRENCH REPORTER ANALYZES SITUATION FOLLOWING QOTBZADEH'S ARREST

Paris LE MATIN in French 19 Apr 82 p 12

[Article by Maurice Szafran: "A Thousand Arrests in Iran"]

[Text] The plot aimed at seizing power in Iran, whose discovery was officially announced last Saturday in Tehran, took on unexpected significance with the direct or indirect implication of members of the clergy. After former minister of foreign affairs Sadegh Qotbzadeh, the two sons-in-law and the private secretary of one of the most important religious personalities, the Ayatollah Shari'atmadari, were arrested last Wednesday. In the holy city of Qom, Shari'atmadari's offices were occupied, and his bodyguards were disarmed, replaced by Revolutionary Guards. Although the physical safety of the ayatollah is not threatened, his adversaries still accuse him of opposing the principle of the primacy of the religious leaders in political life. The investigation of the plot has led to the arrest of a thousand persons, essentially in Tehran and Qom. They included above all members of the middle bourgeoisie. Our special correspondent was in Tehran several days before these latest developments.

This Sunday, 11 April, the deputy from the holy city of Qom arrived in the Majlis, the Iranian parliament, very early. He left his bodyguards at the entrance to the chamber and sat down behind his desk. Nervously, the deputy from Qom awaited the opening of the session and the debate. That morning, the famous Hajjat ol-Eslam Sadeq Khalkhali, a former circuit-riding judge of the revolutionary tribunals, the man formerly in charge of the fight against drugs, the chief torturer of the rebels in Kurdistan, had a juicy item: Several hours earlier, he had learned of the arrest of Sadeq Qotbzadeh, the former foreign minister, who was charged with "plotting to assassinate the Imam Khomeyni." In the process, Sadeq Khalkhali wanted to settle accounts with the "conservatives." He immediately took the floor and with a voice tinged with fury, he suggested that "former prime minister Bazargan and his foreign minister, Yazdi, be sent to prison at Evin, to join Qotbzadeh, because they approved the plot."

There was commotion among the representatives of the people. Bazargan and Yazdi were two of their own; both of them were deputies. What was Khalkhali's objective in tying them in in this fashion with the "plotters" who seemed doomed to

the death penalty? "Simple," replied a European diplomat stationed in Tehran for 6 years. "Iran could once again move toward a Bazargan administration and Khalkhali, in the name of the extremists, is using all of the bad pretexts to once and for all burn Khomeyni's prime minister." This was the end of an entirely banal episode in a tumultuous political context. The president of the parliament, the Ayatollah Hashemi Rafsanjani, just the same presented his apologies to the accused deputies. For what it is worth, Bazargan and Yazdi immediately drafted an official letter in which "they protested their innocence." One cannot be too cautious in the Iran of 1982.

"The country resembles a water tank in which a thousand currents are stirring. Nobody really exercises power." The image of this left-wing opponent is enticing but what does it cover up? Today, there are groups confronting each other around Khomeyni who take their turn in having "the ear" of the master of Iran on specific subjects. While they ceaselessly maintain and protest and repeat that they are "faithful to the line of the Imam," both confront each other daily on crucial subjects. The attitude to adopt toward the Soviet Union, for example.

"The group around President of the Republic Khamene'i and Majlis President Rafsanjani is against a rapprochement with the Soviet," an Iranian political expert explained. "They are against the idea for essentially practical reasons. They have realized that a computer purchased in Moscow costs 15 percent more than a computer purchased in Bonn and that, at any rate, it would be necessary to call in a German technician to keep it going." As a result, contracts that looked promising for the Soviets were in the end signed with the generals in Ankara and USSR Ambassador in Tehran Vladimir Vinogradov left his post in haste. "All of this is a serious defeat for the radicals in the regime, for their leader, Behzad Nabavi, the minister of state for executive affairs," said an Italian businessman who is firmly established in Tehran. "The idyll that had been started with Moscow has been terminated." Is this why the leaders of Tudeh, the pro-Soviet Iranian communist party, have completely dropped out of circulation, is this why they now refrain from adopting any official position, is this why it has become almost impossible to meet them, is this why they go into hiding and is this why, this time for good reason, they continue to repeat that they are "in favor of the regime?" "Yes and no," replied a diplomat from a progressive Arab country. "The communists have realized that the wind is blowing from a different direction now and that it is an unfavorable wind. They have realized, moreover, that in addition to a de facto break with Moscow, Khomeyni has allowed the opening of a campaign against the Tudeh and against the majority Fedayin, their most loyal allies." The signal for this retreat was given by the execution of four Fedayin on 20 March on the eve of the Iranian New Year. The press in Tehran reported nothing and the identity of these new victims is kept secret. From here on in, the "adversaries" will be liquidated stealthily, without excessive publicity. The "conservatives," supported by a large group among the clergy, also tried to push their advantage--on at least three points. First of all, they were successful in rejecting the adoption of certain articles in the agrarian reform that called for the distribution of the land of the rich. Then they put an end to any idea of nationalizing commerce, thus assuring themselves of the support of the bazaar merchants, Tehran's main economic force. Finally, they managed to make sure that one of them, a clergyman, would be appointed to the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Guard. "To make sure of stricter control over this truly radical group," said an Iranian journalist.

This accumulation of points gained is quite impressive. It is all the more significant since this demonstration is also based on sometimes bloody practice. On 8 Paril, the premises of the "radical" newspaper AZADECAN were wrecked by a bomb. The Majahedin-e Khalq (left-wing opposition), "those Americanized hypocrites," were obviously blamed. This is a habit and an assumption that make people in Tehran smile. "This is a matter of settling accounts between Khomeynists," a Tudeh militant assured us. "The conservatives have a tail wind and they benefit from that. Each gets his turn."

This succession of events is turning out to be entirely too simple, too straightforward to be entirely convincing. The arrest of Sadeq Qotbzadeh, the former minister of foreign affairs, beautifully illustrates the perpetual twists of the situation that, from one plot to the next, from one political alliance to a new separation, is metamorphosing Iran. Qotbzadeh, officially retired from politics, was devoting himself to "business." "Just a front," his jailers sneer today. Khomeyni's former spokesman had used his privileged relations with the Imam and apparent connivance with the "conservatives" to stay beyond the range of the "radicals."

This faceoff lasted 2 years. At regular intervals, a group of Revolutionary Guards would invade Sadeq Qotbzadeh's mansion, located on the Shemiran Heights, the ritzy section of Tehran. They would demand detailed explanations on the comings and goings of this or that Iranian university professor or this or that personality known for his reluctant attitude toward the radical groups. The Revolutionary Guards did not even conceal from the former minister the fact that his telephone conversations were being systematically tapped, that they were just waiting for the right moment when they could take him to Evin, the Tehran prison. Qotbzadeh apparently accepted their initial retaliation measures without too much worry. He even went so far as to sign the minutes of these talks with the Guards. Qotbzadeh was sure of himself, too sure of being supported by the most influential group, the one that was most in view. And he was wrong.

The moment the radicals were able to prove that Sadeq Qotbzadeh was implicated in an operation called "unprecedented in the history of the young Islamic revolution," the conservatives were hog-tied and were forced to join them in a clear condemnation of the "plot." On that occasion, the point of no return had been reached, the consensus around Khomeyni was in danger, the conservatives were forced, without any hesitation, to fall in with the positions of the radicals. Exit Sadeq Qotbzadeh. Beyond the latter, the offensive picked another target in the person of the Ayatollah Shari'atmadari and his followers, the very same ones who constituted the strictly Islamic principal opposition to the regime. And government spokesman (Sayed) Tavakkoli confirmed the restoration of this unanimity: "All conversations by the plotters were recorded. It is by the way important to point out that Qotbzadeh during these talks presented himself as the century's greatest politician. It is somehow strange that certain persons could thus misinterpret their feeble strength by thinking that they could lead the fighting nation. By the will of God, they will be punished for their action."

After a certain period of time, however, the streets of Theran returned to a semblance of normalcy. No more checks on identity cards--or just a few, in strategic places such as the area around the Evin prison. "Make no mistake," remarked a young official of the Holy Reconstruction Crusade, one of the new regime's big showpieces, "our adversaries are still powerful. We have not finished fighting them and destroying them. They carry out at least 10 assassination attempts per week." And during that time, Ruhollah Khomeyni kept repeating to his visitors, and they are many at this time: "No coup d'etat is possible in a country that aspires to martyrdom."

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ISSUES DISCUSSED BY FOREIGN MINISTER AT PRESS CONFERENCE

Tehran JOMHURI-YE ESLAMI in Persian 22 Apr p 36

[Interview with Ali Akbar Velayati]

[Text] Political Service of the Islamic Republic- "We request the ouster of Iraq's regime from the nonaligned movement, and are also opposed to the conference of the heads of nonaligned nations in Baghdad."

Brother Dr Ali Akbar Velayati, minister for foreign affairs of the Islamic Republic of Iran, took part yesterday afternoon in a press, radio and television interview and expressed the above sentiments. He explained the reason for the repeated trips of peace missions and their views; Iran's views on the problem of Afghanistan; the reason for the trip to India; the manner of organization of the Islamic Common Market, etc. We publish the text of the interview with the Minister of Foreign Affairs for our readers:

Reason for Visits by Peace Missions

[Question] Our correspondent asked that in view of the fact that Iran's conditions for ending the war imposed by Iraq have been repeatedly announced, and these just conditions have not been accepted so far, what is the reason for the repeated visits of peace missions to Iran?"

[Answer] "In the name of God the Merciful.

The Islamic Republic of Iran always prefers peace to war. We accept this principle and have repeatedly emphasized it. In other words, we are not a war-mongering nation. It is natural that in the present war forced on us by Iraq we should defend our identity, integrity and Islamic and Iranian honor. We have announced repeatedly our acceptable conditions for ending the war and we welcome any mediation mission that wishes to come to Iran. We see no hindrance to these missions coming to Iran. As to why they come and go repeatedly seeing that we hold steadfastly to our conditions, first of all, this is a question that should be put to the missions themselves. They initiate the request and naturally we welcome all those who come with goodwill and the objective of establishing peace. Another point to be noted here is that although our conditions are unchangeable, political conditions in the world, areas and fronts are in a state of flux. It is natural that in view of all these factors, peace missions should renew their efforts to explore the possibilities of bringing the war to a peaceful end.

Iran's Views on the Afghanistan Problem

[Question] A correspondent asked about the result of talks held with the special representative of the Secretary General of the United Nations in regard to the problem of Afghanistan.

[Answer] "The special representative of the Secretary General of the United Nations had asked to come to Iran to get better acquainted with the views of the authorities of the Islamic Republic of Iran regarding the Afghanistan issue. We accepted his request, and he came to Tehran after visiting Islamabad and Kabul. He was especially interested in knowing our views regarding the problem of Afghanistan.

We explained the framework of our foreign policy towards Afghanistan and the basic principles on which it is based. We told him that first of all, Russian troops should withdraw unconditionally from Afghanistan. Second, that no troops of any country should have the right to interfere in the internal affairs of Afghanistan. Third, all refugees should be allowed to return to their country with full rights and dignity. Four, the people of Afghanistan should have the right to determine their own destiny, and such conditions should be created that would allow them to do so. This is the framework of our policy. If the United Nations has any proposal that fits into this framework and incorporates its conditions, we will accept, but not otherwise."

The Reason for the Visit to Iran of the Libyan Prime Minister and the Algerian Foreign Minister

[Question] In answer to a correspondent's question regarding the reason for the visits to Iran of the Libyan prime minister and the Algerian foreign minister, Dr Velayati said:

[Answer] "These visits are in answer to the invitations of their Iranian counterparts. Mr Musavi, the prime minister of the Islamic Republic of Iran, invited Mr Jelloud to come to Iran; and I invited the foreign ministers of Libya and Algeria, and they have responded to our invitations. Naturally, their visits are aimed at strengthening the relations of these two countries with Iran."

The Criterion of Relations with Other Countries

In regard to the political criteria of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs concerning countries with whom our relations are on an ambassadorial level, brother Velayati said, "In our relations with other countries, we give priority to countries of the Third World, especially to Islamic countries. Most of our political representatives are selected for the Third world, and especially for Islamic countries."

The Reason for the Trip to India

[Question] Our correspondent asked as to what was the objective behind Dr Valayati's trip to India on which he would be embarking in the coming week.

[Answer] "Our objective in the visit to India is connected with our over-all policy, which is to extend relations with countries of the Third World. Although India is not our contiguous neighbor, it is still close to us, and we share many common interests. The people of Iran and India are bound by strong historical, cultural and religious ties. Both countries are members of the Organization of Nonaligned Nations, and there are approximately 120 million Muslims living in India. Moreover, we are both Asian countries and share common interests in the Indian Ocean.

It is natural that these ties and common interests should inspire our trip to India and our effort to extend as far as possible relations between these two countries."

Move to Oust Iraq from the Nonaligned Movement

[Question] In answer to a correspondent's question as to whether during Dr Velayati's visit to India, the subject of the cancellation or postponement of the coming meeting in Baghdad of the heads of the nonalignment movement would be discussed, Dr Velayati said:

[Answer] "The fact is that an aggressive regime such as that of Iraq is unsuitable for membership in the Organization of Nonaligned Nations, and naturally we want the expulsion of such a regime from the Organization. We are of course opposed to the conference of the heads of nonaligned nations in Baghdad, and we have notified member nations including India of our opposition."

Recent Proposal of Islamic Conference's Peace Committee

In regard to the recent proposal of the Islamic conference's Peace Committee, brother Velayati said: "This Committee headed by Mr Sekou Toure, whom we respect, came to Iran with a new proposal that from our point of view had more positive points than the past ones. But it was still far removed from our conditions. The Committee gave us their proposal and asked us to study it, and give them our answer. The proposal was studied by the responsible political authorities of the Islamic Republic of Iran. The next time the Committee returned to Iran under the leadership of Mr Habib Shattti to hear our answer. We told them that we honored their humanitarian effort and respected their search for peace, but that the proposal was far removed from conditions laid down by us. We reiterated the just conditions and principles put forward by the Islamic Republic of Iran. As we have said many times before, the conditions are first, the unconditional withdrawal of Iraq's forces to pre-war boundaries. Second, the payment of reparations by Iraq to the government of Iran. Third, the formation of a committee to investigate Iraq's aggression. We noted that the right of Iraq's expatriates to return to their country should be preserved. The Committee heard our views, and went back to Baghdad to solicit their views and continue its work."

Action of Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Regard to Bringing Islamic Countries Together

[Question] A correspondent asked that in view of the fact that some friendly countries have welcomed the formation of a united Islamic front against imperialism and Zionism, what future action does the Ministry intend to take in this regard. Dr Velayati answered:

[Answer] "The Ministry of Foreign Affairs did not take a single and distinguishable action, but made a series of efforts to cement ties among Islamic countries especially the leading ones.

The relations that we have established with Islamic countries during this period bring us closer to the formation of our proposed front.

As far as the signing of the agreement of understanding is concerned, that has been accomplished. The next step is to put it into practice, and we have entered that practical stage. For example, we have established firm economic, political and commercial relations with Syria on a high level. That country continues to support the Islamic Republic of Iran without conditions or restrictions in its justified defense against the war imposed by Iraq. We also defended by word and deed Syria's rights in its confrontation with the occupation regime in Palestine [as published]. These outstanding examples show that we are making headway towards unity in action."

Islamic Common Market

In conclusion, Dr Velayati expressed his views regarding an Islamic Common Market:

"An Islamic Common Market is a desirable idea that offers Islamic countries the encouraging prospect of fulfilling part of their needs through cooperation with each other. The aim of forming a common market among a number of countries is that these countries agree to certain facilities and concessions regarding exchanges among themselves. Our economic relations with Syria, Turkey and Pakistan, and God willing, with other Islamic countries such as Algeria and Libya could become the primary and practical core for the creation of a common market. We have talked with the authorities of these countries and they have welcomed the idea. By the grace of God we are now engaged in preparing the preliminary plan for the Common Market.

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JOURNALIST REPORTS FROM TEHRAN ON 'REIGN OF DELATION'

Paris LE MATIN Magazine in French 30 Apr 82 pp 19-21

[Article by Maurice Szafran: "Iran--The Reign of Snitching"]

[Text] Executions are no longer enough for the mullahs who run Iran. They want more: they want to turn each Iranian into a spy who will watch and denounce his neighbor. At Tehran, Maurice Szafran met completely terrorized men and women.

Leaving. Escaping. Pulling out of Tehran. A fixed idea. "And a perfectly idiotic idea," signed Farideh. When Farideh, the teacher, entered the lobby of the International Hotel, the night watchman on duty looked her over with a stern eye from top to bottom. He took the trouble to rise and told her, almost shouting: "Next time, I will not allow you to enter. Slacks and sandals are not really decent. And that white scarf which barely covers your hair--really, that is not good." She did not reply, she said nothing, not a word. She plunked herself down in an overstuffed chair. Cautiously she put her hand flat on her knee. She interpreted for me the remarks made by that Revolutionary Guard who watches out for respect for Islamic morality inside the hotel. And she added, rather wearily: "Well, there you are. The informers and the snitches are everywhere. There is no hope left. You have to escape across the Turkish or Pakistani border. That costs \$10,000. I would never get that kind of money."

Leaving. Escaping. Pulling out of Tehran. A fixed idea. When Medhi, the mechanic, met me near the Jewish School of Tehran, he was in good spirits. In return for a \$10 bill, he agreed to show me the city, to take me south, to get me across the almost invisible border which leads toward those suburbs where the entire population had risen for the Islamic Revolution. And then, in turn, while we were buying some pistachios at the stand of an itinerant vendor, Medhi cracked. He lost his haughty attitude and in stuttering English he blurted out: "I believe I do not love my country any longer. At night you do not even dare invite your friends any more and have some fun. You are too afraid of being spotted by a gang of Revolutionary Guards. And then, you never know what might happen. The mullahs have invented a horrible trick. It is called the 'intelligence organization of the 36 million.' All of us are members of it, all of us are spies. That is quite a bit worse than before."

Leaving. Escaping. Pulling out of Tehran. A fixed idea. When Reza, the merchant, approached me and suggested to me to settle my hotel bill, I did not understand right away. "You will pay me back in Paris some day sooner or later when I am free. I must get rid of my rials at all costs and I must get foreign currency. I am undoubtedly a good Iranian and a good Shiite but I simply cannot stand that bunch of fanatics around Khomeyni. Above all, you Europeans cannot imagine how crazy they are. They know very well what they want: a society that is 100 percent Islamic. I cannot go along with this kind of life. And they, I know that they hold power for good. In just 3 years they will have managed to fashion Tehran according to their model."

Farideh, the teacher, Mehdi, the mechanic, and Reza, the merchant--are they "representative," as we say? Undoubtedly not and it matters little. A large part of the Iranian population remains "loyal to the line of the Imam." So, what? The record of the Islamic Revolution cannot be established only in black and white; what actually has changed? A war interferes with reconstruction efforts--and what happens after that? The lifestyle of a Westernized minority cannot hinder a return to Islam as desired by the "disinherited"; does that justify daily oppression and terror? And why are the streets of Tehran deserted after 2000? Is this like an "Islamic city?"

Air Force Lieutenant Mohammad is an "Islamic hero"; he knows it and he laughs about it. Above the battlefield of Dezful, he downed two Iraqi Mirage aircraft. More than that, he was "officially" congratulated by Seyyed Hussein Hussein, one of the mullahs who "work" the front lines to organize and "boost" the troops. He is only too glad to talk to you and that is an exception in Iran; he believes that he is untouchable: "I did not dare tell him that I had learned to fly a plane from the 'big satan' at an American air base near Houston. I did not tell him either that I regularly purchased whisky. On the black market--at \$40 a bottle. All of that is outlawed. Nevertheless, if you manage to muddle through, everything is still possible in Tehran."

He is almost funny, like a cartoon, Air Force Lieutenant Mohammad. After arriving in the capital for several days of leave, he piously kept his form-fitting green overalls decorated with a patch showing the picture of a lion, his Ray-Ban sunglasses, in spite of a uniformly gray sky, and two Parker pens stuck into the shaft of his Ranger boots. He "defies" the line of the right-thinking and he claims: "I can allow myself to this sort of thing because the Islamics need me, my airplane, my parachute. Therefore I can live the way I want to." But for how long? He does not want to answer but just the same he insists on a "sense of fatality" which is deeply rooted in him. But from time to time Air Force Lieutenant Mohammad does pull back. In the face of the tenacity and the rigor of the Revolutionary Guard.

His wife is of Armenian origin and is Catholic by religion. She refuses to put on a veil, to change her way of life in any way whatsoever, her way of dressing, her way of walking, smiling, and moving around. But, entering the almost deserted restaurant dining room, she carefully covered her head, she let go of her aviator husband's arm, she spoke less forcefully, less clearly. She simply took the trouble to swear, mischievously and under her breath, when she spotted the inevitable Revolutionary Guard. "Above all, one must not provoke them," Lieutenant Mohammad admitted. "They have taken over Tehran. You have to know when and how to get around them."

In this regard, the last whim of the Iranian bourgeoisie has taken on the form of the video tape recorder, an article strictly banned on this Islamic soil, no longer obtainable in the stores. "No matter," Lieutenant Mohammad assured me. "You can find it on the black market. It is expensive--1 million rials or something like \$15,000. And you can buy anything there, as much as you can. They will offer you a bad freezer at \$2,000 and you will take it. They might sell you a kilogram of meat at \$20 and you will not even hesitate any longer." Frenzy, a mad rush of figures, money spent no matter where, no matter when, no matter how. "Out of fear," Lieutenant Mohammad admits. But also out of total and radical lack of understanding of the uncontrollable jolts that have torn Iran. And the soldier tries to make you believe that he is getting through this Islamization without damage or just a little at any rate. "Not too long ago, I was able to go skiing," he remarked, almost happily. But he forgot to point out that certain ski runs are "strictly for men only," that Revolutionary Guards have been posted at the foot of the skilifts to prevent any mingling of the sexes. And Lieutenant Mohammad knows very well that one can "find amusement" in Khomeyni's Tehran, on one condition: you must have managed to accumulate a little money under the preceding regime. "The system remains rotten," remarked the flier who profits from this situation wonderfully. "Basically, you are entitled only to 40 liters of gasoline per month. But the civil servants embezzle so many coupons that you never leave your car in the street."

In this context, it is easy to be mistaken as to the real situation in Tehran in 1982. It is easy to believe, in the final analysis, that this is a city of the Third World "almost like the others" where the smartest, the "smoothest," always wind up by getting out. It is too easy to imagine that it suffices to slip between the mesh of a net insufficiently stretched by the mullahs to be entirely escape-proof. Here it suffices to follow Farideh, the teacher, around for several hours. Of course we must always keep in mind the words she mumbled during our first meeting: "My life is hell."

Farideh lives in one of those high-rise buildings at the north end of Tehran, near that cluster of mansions and private hotels once upon a time occupied by those close to the shah, now taken over by the squatters, the tenants of the mullarchy. With her mother she lives in a 250-square-meter apartment "loaned" by an architect uncle who "provisionally" lives in Boston. "Until the revolution," Farideh told me, "I had taught only in the rich sections of town. When they reassigned me to the south of Tehran, I said nothing. I was even in favor of this experiment. I never missed attending one of those demonstrations against the Pahlavi family."

It is 0500. We switch from one group-riding taxi to the other. It takes a good hour and a half before we reach the south. "And we will not talk during the trip," she told me right away. "I do not trust the drivers; too often, they are informers." The atmosphere is heavy; I had to insist at length before Farideh would agree to have me accompany her. "I am ashamed," she simply said.

Ashamed of a dress which at the start of the revolution was described by certain good spirits as a "revolutionary instrument." Ashamed of the chador

[veil] which the "priests"--as she shouted--now force her to wear during school hours. "Nobody can realize how you suffer. You live with children, you try to awaken them and you can show them only your hands. Only your hands. No more smiles or anger in your eyes. All they see is a kind of black corpse that gives them orders. It is frightful." And then comes the shock. At the doors of the school, on one of those miserably poor narrow streets in the southern part of Tehran, two Revolutionary Guards conscientiously and everywhere search the pupils, the untidy kids who no longer have any desire to horse around. They even touch the soles of the shoes, those Revolutionary Guards! In the evening, Farideh explained: "The 'priests' do not trust anybody. They are too much afraid of attempts on their lives. And since they do not hesitate to send 13-year-old children out to get killed in the war by the Iraqi tanks, they imagine that their enemies will behave in the same way."

Checks are often conducted in government buildings. Almost daily terror and counterterror. The people in Tehran pretend that they do not even notice this any longer. "Still," Medhi, the mechanic, emphasizes, "often there are more than ten criminal attempts per day. It is difficult to find those responsible; perhaps they are anti-Khomeynists. Perhaps they are also pro-Khomeynists who fight against other pro-Khomeynists. But it is we who return home without an arm or a leg because we happened to be standing in line in front of a department store and a boobytrapped vehicle blew everything up."

So, from sunrise to sunset, Tehran and its shadows act as if nothing were happening. The moneychangers have transformed their stalls. Since they no longer have the right to "deal," they simply spread worn bills with the picture of the shah--collector's items--on their counters. Is this a profitable business? "Absolutely not," replied one of them. "We practically do not sell anything any more." So, why? "You have to keep busy; you have to pretend you are working." Eating, paying rent, sending the kids to school? "You manage somehow but do not ask me how. That is entirely too complicated." Some benefit from the help given by an uncle or a cousin, the owner of a shop in the bazaar who feeds the entire family. What about the others? "They eat thanks to the market of the mosques," Farideh explained. "This is one of the rare formidable tricks of the Islamic Republic." Around the mosques in the city, the clergymen have officially established a parallel market. The poorest often find fruit and vegetables here, along with salt and sugar, at prices lower than the official prices. "That however does not prevent all kinds of deals," says Reza, the merchant. "The mullahs keep embezzling for the benefit of their families and their followers. The Revolutionary Guards are not reluctant to engage in this sort of thing either. They are untouchable. They are armed. And they shoot."

On the next morning, Farideh did not want me once again to follow her to the community school in the south. She was afraid of being spotted in the company of a Westerner. She was afraid of losing her job, her last link with Iran, with her country. In the evening, I was to meet Ali, one of the men in charge of the holy crusade for reconstruction, the "grand work" which is so dear to the Imam Khomeyni. Ali had studied in Europe at a German university. Upon our arrival, he blurted out with real contempt: "I would have preferred to meet only with Islamic journalists." We wound up sympathizing with him. He asked me to explain to him that "new socialist France which helps Israel." I above all wanted to talk to him about my meetings with

Farideh, the teacher, Medhi, the mechanic, and Reza, the merchant; I wanted to ask him why all these people, who had so strongly believed in the revolution, now have only one obsession: departure. He agreed to debate. For a moment, for an hour. He argued, he told me how rotten the shah's Iran was. "But why do they all want to leave now?" That question really shook him and he cut the whole conversation short: "You Western journalists, you are not wicked. But our revolution is really completely beyond your comprehension." During that time, the three others...to leave, to escape, to pull out of Tehran.

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BANKS TO PROVIDE CAPITAL FOR NATIONALIZED INDUSTRIES

Tehran SOBH-E AZADEGAN in Persian 14 Apr 82 p 2

[Interview with Central Bank Director Nurbakhsh]

[Excerpt] Dr Mohsen Nurbakhsh, the director of the Central Bank of Iran, in a press conference yesterday, expressed his views about money and banking and also about last year's activities of the national banking system.

According to the reporter of the ISLAMIC REPUBLIC NEWS AGENCY in the area of internal affairs, Dr Nurbakhsh said, "last year, the joint regulation of the banks was approved and will be implemented from the beginning of the current year, and this has been an important step in solving the main programs of the country's banks." He added, "also, of the important actions of the last year, the auditing and stabilization of the financial conditions of the country's banks must be mentioned, and in this regard, the balance sheets of 1979-1980 of all banks have been put in order, and the amount of their uncollected loans has been appraised, and it was agreed that the bank's losses be paid from the 1979-1980 profits of the Central Bank. Also, the stating of the managerial positions of the banks is one of the positive actions of the last year." The Central Bank director added, "The main economic problems in the last year have been the economic standstill and the decrease of productive activities, which mainly has been caused by the imposed war by Iraq against Iran. In the last year, the banks tried to find new ways for granting credits in order to help end the economic standstill but one must bear in mind that to escape from this, the banks need to examine their fundamental questions such as ownership." Dr Nurbakhsh added that during the last year, to solve the main problems of the banks in relation to the Foundation for the Oppressed, steps have been taken to provide revolving funds the the activities of the related companies of this organization, which is in debt to the banking system of the country. Meanwhile, a solution will be found to prevent the default of the bank's claims and prevent pressure from being put on the above-mentioned foundation. On this basis, the foundation accepted to pay the debts of the mentioned companies up to the level of their assets, to the banks. Also, in the past month or two, agreements like this were made with the National Organization of Industries in connection with companies which owe to the banks, and in the

course of these agreements, 600 production units have been nationalized and have been placed at the service of the country to increase production. In regard to planning for 1982-1983 Dr Nurbakhsh said: "Efforts will be made so that credits and the manner of granting them will be along the framework of the Islamic laws, and as an example, the granting of credit in the form of limited partnerships is one of the steps that will be taken. Also, the committee for the omission of interest will present the result of their studies to the members of the cabinet and the Islamic Majlis. Also, a special committee under the supervision of the Supreme Council on banking is studying the credit planning of the banks." Dr Nurbakhsh emphasized that the correct use of the 600 billion rials of bank credit, which is approximately equal to the national development budget, will play an important part in the improvement of Iran's economic situation. Also, our other aim in this regard is strengthening the control areas of the bank in using these credits.

Dr Nurbakhsh, in answer to the question of the ISLAMIC REPUBLIC NEWS AGENCY regarding the general economic situation of the country in the last year said, "Last year we were facing two basic problems: an economic standstill which has caused cessation and there was even negative growth in some sectors like housing. Fortunately, in the economic sectors, we have stabilized the situation. In industrial sectors, in the first 6 months of the year, because of the shortage of raw materials and spare parts, we had negative growth. The rate of inflation during the last year was 23 percent. Therefore, the double digit inflation rate is worthy of consideration, and we hope that with the government policies of the current year, the rate will drop. I must remind you that this inflation is caused by the more than 18 months that we are at war with Iraq." The director of the bank emphasized that the exertion of government policies in regard to rationing essential goods has been able to limit the inflation rate to a great extent.

In answer to the question of the reporter of this agency in regard to the specific monetary policy of the Central Bank in fighting inflation, he said, "Our monetary policy will be a contractionary policy and the volume of revolving funds and credits will be controlled and in no way will we grant credit for increased demand and consumption. The credits must only be used in productive sectors.

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CSO: 4640/278

IRAN AIRLINES REPORTS WAR SERVICES, SAVINGS

Tehran SOBH-E AZADEGAN in Persian 19 Apr 82 p 11

[Interview with Mohammad Baqerian, managing director of Iran Airlines]

[Text] Tehran--ISLAMIC REPUBLIC NEWS AGENCY--Despite the imposed war by Iraq against Iran, the Islamic Republic of Iran airlines during this period of war has transported more than 2.33 million passengers inside and outside the country.

Also during the year 1981-1982, a total of 3.5 million rials has been saved by the airlines budget. Saturday noon, Engineer Mohammad Baqerian, managing director of the Islamic Republic of Iran Airlines, in a press conference, explained the airlines operations for the last 18 months, from the start of the imposed war by Iraq against Iran, to the end of the year 1981-1982. First, he spoke about the flights of this company and said: "Despite the imposed war from 1980-81, this company had 14 daily domestic flights and 3 international flights per week, and at present, this has increased to 106 domestic flights and 15 international flights per week."

He said, "During this time, around 2.33 million passengers have been transported, and of this amount, about 1.98 million have been transported on domestic flights and the rest on international flights."

He added: "Seventy percent of the seats have been full during this time and considering the problems facing this company, this figure is notable."

Total transported freight has been around 89,000 tons and of this amount, 81,000 tons have been international freight and the rest have been transported on domestic flights." He said, "With the coordination of the Ministry of Post and Telegraph, the amount of transported airmail has been around 2.2 million kilograms. Of this amount, around 200,000 kilograms has been domestic and the rest international air cargo."

Engineer Baqerian, in regard to the higher revenues of the airline said: "Due to the cooperation of other related divisions and organizations in the transport area, the daily profit of the airlines has increased from 1.75 [as published] per hour in the fall of 1980-81 to 3.15 per hour in the fall of 1981-82."

Then he referred to the question of the repair and maintenance of the airplanes and said, "Steps have been taken to expand the repair and maintenance of the planes inside the country and the list of repairable pieces in Iran has been increased to more than 100 items."

From the beginning of 1982-83, major repairs of 707 airplanes will be performed in Iran for the first time."

The managing director of Iran Airlines then referred to the flight activities of the Itoma division and said, "This company, by recruiting experienced flight staff in the 18 months of the reported time period, had about 20,000 total flights in 37,000 hours, which due to the flight limitations indicated, one-third of the available time is carried out by the flight activity division of the company."

Then Baqerian referred to the income of this company for the year 1981-82 and said, "The income of this company, in comparison with the year 1980-81, has increased around 42 percent, and reached around 20 billion rials. The amount of 3.5 billion rials has been saved in the budget of 1981-82."

About the training of staff of this company, the managing director of the Islamic Republic of Iran Airlines said, "This company has arranged 426 training courses in different fields and has instructed 6,156 trainees. One-hundred and forty technicians and technical experts have been dispatched to different training institutions inside and outside the country for training and at the end of the year 1982-83, it is planned that 130 foreign employees in engineering and maintenance will be replaced by Iranians."

Baqerian, about the number of planes, and the future programs of this company said: "At present, 29 aircraft are flying for this company and arrangements have been made for the company to take delivery of two airbus aircraft."

Thus, the number of services, especially in the Persian Gulf region and inside the country will go up."

He also added: "According to the prepared plan, it is agreed that in the year 1982-83, surplus aircraft will be rented out to Muslim and friendly countries."

Towards the end, he said this about tourist and pilgrimage tours: "In the year 1982-83, in order to arrange trips outside the country, based on the republic's rules, the Iran Air Tour company, depending on the capacity of aircraft, will increase its services and will arrange pilgrimage and tourist flights to North Africa, Libya and Algeria."

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CSO: 4640/278

IMPROVEMENT IN MEAT DISTRIBUTION EXPLAINED

Tehran SOBH-E AZADEGAN in Persian 18 Apr 82 p 11

[Interview with Mehdi MehraVani Behbehani, managing director of the National Meat Organization]

[Text:] The managing director of the National Meat Organization in an interview explained the method of national meat distribution and sources for securing the country's meat.

Yesterday morning, Mehdi MehraVani Behbehani, the managing director of the National Meat Organization, in a press, radio and television interview, explained the latest information and decisions of the organization in relation to the methods of distribution and also the sources of securing meat supplies for the country.

According to the reporter of the ISLAMIC REVOLUTION NEWS AGENCY, he referred to the reduction of meat shortages in the current year and said: "It has been arranged that the meat consumed by our dear countrymen be delivered on time and in sufficient quantity. I must indicate that the meat distribution in the city of Tehran today, compared to the past, has increased 30 percent, and this increase has been approved and will continue. In this connection we ask the local cooperatives and religious leaders in the mosques to contact the meat organization immediately, and if no butcher shops exist in their localities, we will take into consideration the local share in order to take the necessary action." He added: "In the case of the provinces, meat distribution, as in the city of Tehran, will be done in two ways, which are family rations and butcher guild rations, and in this regard, the guild's ration has been increased considerably in relation to the previous year."

MehraVani said: "Unlike Tehran, whose meat distribution has been directly achieved under this organization, in the provinces, this distribution is done under the supervision of the National Economic Mobilization Headquarters. The distribution will be in proportion to the city's population."

He then referred to meat imports from Turkey and said, "About 5 percent of total national meat consumption is imported from Turkey as either live cattle or fresh meat according to the existing reciprocal credit agreements." He added, "The rest of the national meat needs are provided from other countries, among them, Argentina, Uruguay, Australia and New Zealand."

Mehravani said: "Domestic cattle production provides approximately half of our needs, but due to various reasons, we cannot make statements about precise statistics."

The managing director of the National Meat Organization in regard to the outbreak of the plague among the country's cows sometime ago said: "Control of this disease was and is the duty of the National Veterinary Organization, and we are only responsible for the slaughter of the cattle whose condition is uncertain in regard to this disease, and up to now, around 370 tons of questionable meat, which came from healthy cows and was good for consumption, did not meet religious standards for cleanliness and has been used for industrial purposes."

About the new purchases of meat from the large companies he said: "After a 6-month purchase prohibition by the government of the Islamic Republic of Iran because of high prices, recently, several contracts have been signed with these companies, which compared to this year, will save around \$51 million. This figure is equal to the expenses of the National Meat Organization." He said that because of this saving, the government is cancelling meat subsidies.

Mehravani added: "During the last year around 200,000 tons of different meat have been distributed in the country, and this year, the amount will be increased considerably."

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BRIEFS

MONTAZERI MEETS SUUNI ULEMA--A group of Sunni ulema from Khorasan Province met with Grand Ayatollah Montazeri in Qom yesterday. During the meeting the grand ayatollah referred to the anti-Islam and antiulema trends and movements of the toppled regime. He said: Today, thanks to the blessed victory of the Islamic revolution, the Shi'ite and Sunni ulema have the milieus to work in Islamic guidance, to strengthen and expand seminaries. In conclusion Grand Ayatollah Montazeri assessed the victories achieved by the soldiers of Islam as giving new hope to all the oppressed of the world. [Text] [GF280511 Tehran International Service in Arabic 0400 GMT 28 May 82]

KHORRAMSHAHR REGAINED--Iranians residing in Kuwait and other Muslims there continue to celebrate the great victories of our Muslim and heroic combatants and their liberation of Khorramshahr. A large crowd of Muslims gathered yesterday in the embassy of the Islamic Republic of Iran in Kuwait and nearby streets. The assembly was scheduled to watch a film on Khorramshahr's liberation. However, the screening of the film was not possible in view of the fact that there was a very large crowd. [Text] [GF300603 Tehran International Service in Arabic 2000 GMT 29 May 82]

REZA PAHLAVI VISITS JORDAN--Well-informed Iranian sources have revealed that Prince Reza Pahlavi, eldest son of the late shah of Iran, has paid a secret visit to Jordan and exchanged views with King Husayn on the Iraqi-Iranian War. The same sources have also confirmed that Prince Reza recently met with Egyptian President Husni Mubarak and discussed with him the various possibilities related to the Gulf war and the Egyptian role in it. Prince Reza is anxious to shroud all his Arab, Iranian and international contact in complete secrecy, but sources close to him say that he is carrying out wide-scale activities on the grounds that he is getting ready to return to Iran at the right time. [Text] [PM021225 London AL-MAJALLAH in Arabic 29 May-4 Jun 82 p 11]

SYRIAN MUFTI SUPPORT--Shaykh Ahmad Kaftari, the grand mufti of Syria, has received a trade delegation from the Islamic Republic of Iran in Damascus. He told the delegation: The Islamic revolution in Iran is the hope of world Muslims. This revolution shoulders a great divine responsibility. The grand mufti of Syria asserted that all Muslim forces should coordinate their

steps with the Islamic Republic of Iran. He expressed hope that the Iraqi war imposed on Iran will end with the triumph of the Islamic forces. The Iranian trade delegation signed several trade agreements with Syrian officials during its visit to Damascus. [Text] [GF311457 Tehran International Service in Arabic 1230 GMT 31 May 82]

SADDAM TRIAL DEMANDED--Lebanese Shi'ite mufti 'Abd al-Amir Qabalan, has scored the reactionary Arab regimes, saying that certain Arab rulers do not want to adopt the teachings and provisions of the Koran. He demanded that an Islamic court be held in order to try Saddam for his aggression against the Islamic Republic of Iran. He said we do not accept Saddam to be hidden and replaced by another stooge, because this will not change a thing. [Text] [GF010448 Tehran International Service in Arabic 0400 GMT 1 Jun 82]

VELAYATI MEETS FOREIGN COUNTERPARTS--A meeting was held in Havana today between Foreign Minister 'Ali Akbar Velayati and his Pakistani counterpart, Yaqub Khan. During the meeting discussion dealt with issues of mutual interest, Iran's stand on the Iraqi war imposed on it, and the determination of the Islamic Republic to continue the war until its rights are restored and until the aggressor is punished. Mr Velayati also met with the foreign ministers of Cuba and Syria yesterday. The meetings took place within the framework of the nonaligned ministerial conference being held in the Cuban capital. [Text] [GF011651 Tehran International Service in Arabic 1430 GMT 1 Jun 82]

KHOMEYNI CONGRATULATED--The representative of the Mosaic community in the Majlis has addressed a message of congratulations to the leader of the revolution and founder of the Islamic Republic of Iran, the Imam Khomeyni, on the recent victories achieved by the soldiers of Islam in the Jerusalem operations and the liberation of Khorramshahr. [Text] [GF040725 Tehran International Service in Arabic 2000 GMT 3 Jun 82]

LEBANESE SHI'ITE DELEGATION--A delegation of Muslim ulema from Lebanon led by Shaykh Muhammad Mahdi Shams al-Din, deputy chairman of the Muslim Shi'ite council in Lebanon, arrived in Tehran yesterday. Shams al-Din is scheduled to meet with senior officials of the Islamic Republic of Iran to explain the situation in southern Lebanon and the gravity of Israeli aggression in the region. [Text] [GF040645 Tehran International Service in Arabic 0400 GMT 4 Jun 82]

CSO: 4604/35

COMMENTATOR ON SHARON'S 'OPEN MOUTH' POLICY

TA011154 Tel Aviv MA'ARIV in Hebrew 1 Jun 82 p 5

[Commentary by Shmu'el Segev: "From Africa to Iran"]

[Text] Defense Minister Ari'el Sharon's return from the United States requires the Government of Israel not only to listen to his reports on his talks with U.S. secretaries of defense and state, but to devote much thought to the damage caused by his "open mouth" policy in more than one area.

Since Sharon was appointed defense minister in Menahem Begin's second government, the damage he has caused has been outstanding in four main fields:

--Policy in the territories. In contrast to the liberal goals that formed the foundations of head of the civilian administration Professor Menahem Milson's idea to foster "village leagues" as a preparation for their incorporation into the autonomy talks, Sharon--using the administration's military arm--worked to foil that intention. The defense minister's actions in the field were in outstanding contradiction of his public statements and the result is that since December the situation in the territories has deteriorated dangerously. Despite the calming down of the inhabitants' behavior over the last few weeks, it is doubtful if anyone still deludes himself that an end has been put to the waves of violence.

--Relations with Africa. For many years Israel, secretly and with hard work, fostered its links with sub-Saharan African countries. Thanks to this effort, the Israeli presence in African countries was renewed on 17 April, the scope of commercial ties has been doubled since 1972 and the foundations were laid for a renewal of diplomatic relations in the future.

As part of this effort a delegation from an African country visited Israel last autumn. In his talks with its members, the defense minister invited himself for a visit to their country. Despite the hesitation by the president of that country (hesitations that were expressed in a telephone call between the ministry of defense in Tel Aviv and the African president) Sharon went for a visit to three African countries, but even before he had returned home the press was filled with exaggerated descriptions of

"achievements," all of which were canceled because of the Israeli defense minister's loose mouth. No small diplomatic effort was needed to repair the damage and achieve the renewal of the diplomatic relations with Zaire; and even then the defense minister rushed to circulate his picture with President Mobutu from his visit to Zaire last November, as though he wanted to publicly "steal" Israeli diplomacy's secret achievement.

--Arms deals with Iran. It is no secret that even before Sharon took office as defense minister initial ties were made with Iranian army authorities and first requests were sent to Israel for the supply of weapons and spare parts to the various Iranian army corps. Prime Minister Begin discussed this both with Ambassador Sam Lewis and with President Carter, but because of the delay in the release of the hostages, the United States did not ratify the deal. After the hostages were released, a limited supply of weapons and military equipment to Iran was begun through mediators abroad. These deals were not the fruit of a long-term political consideration but the result of pressure applied to various arms dealers in Israel and abroad.

Israel kept these deals secret, although their details were known to the U.S. Government. In various diplomatic contacts the United States explained to Israel that the "desire to make a few dollars" contradicted Sharon's avowed aim of developing broad strategic cooperation with the United States. Nevertheless, Israel ignored the U.S. explanations and its hand continued to do something different from what its mouth was saying.

However, there was one thing that Israel did continue to keep absolutely secret: it scrupulously refrained from admitting the existence of those deals, both in order not to embarrass the U.S. Government and in order not to put an end to those deals. Then along came Sharon and, responding to questions, publicly admitted the existence of those deals--again, as though this was his personal achievement, not that of his predecessors.

--Autonomy talks. This issue is the lesser known of the four areas, but from talks with senior personalities involved in the autonomy talks it emerges that, out of a desire to foil the renewal of the talks headed by Interior Minister Dr Yosef Burg, Sharon raised the question of the Jerusalem venue for the talks. Senior ministers, including the ministers of the interior and justice, leaned toward accepting the U.S. proposal to hold the talks in Washington or another neutral site. Foreign Minister Yitzhaq Shamir also at first hesitated over this issue. But after Sharon "trapped" Begin and pushed him into making public statements on this issue, the other ministers were forced to take the same stand, although they gritted their teeth in obvious unwillingness.

The Jerusalem problem has now worsened to the point that it is doubtful that even Begin's upcoming visit to Washington will help get Israel out of the trap. The reason for this does not necessarily originate in the issue itself,

but in the fear of early Knesset elections and the fear that the opposition will take advantage of the problem to attack the government on such sensitive issues.

Because of this there are no longer any hopes for progress in the autonomy talks in the current year. It is reasonable to assume that President Reagan will postpone any significant initiative on this issue until after the coming congressional election, on the assumption that 1983 will be the year of autonomy.

CSO: 4400/299

PRESS CRITICIZES CHIEF-OF-STAFF'S OUTSPOKENNESS

'POST' Criticizes

TA010946 Jerusalem THE JERUSALEM POST in English 1 Jun 82 p 10

[Editorial: "Speaking Out of Turn"]

[Text] Shooting off his mouth in public has become such a regular practice with Chief of Staff Refa'el Eytan that it tends no longer even to elicit protest. But in his latest performance, at the religious comprehensive school in Tiberias on Sunday, the once taciturn "Rafal" outdid even himself.

Plainly the chief of staff has a great many things on his mind that do not quite belong to the proper running of the armed forces but about which he must, so he feels, unburden himself. This would have been unexceptionable, if the address were well chosen: the defence minister, the cabinet, even the Knesset foreign affairs and defence committee. But Lieutenant General Eytan must be uncomfortable in the confinement of more-or-less select circles.

He seeks the wider audience of the entire nation, which he easily reaches via the public platform, the newspaper interview or the microphone.

Thus the entire nation now knows its "first soldier" believes that the Gulf war is "good for the Jews," especially if it helps blow the Iraqis to smithereens; that the only way to solve the terrorist problem arising out of Lebanon is to blow the terrorists, too, to smithereens; that the Palestinians on both sides of the green line are one nation united in its hostility to Israel; that the civilian authority would probably decide to order the elimination of the Syrian missiles in Lebanon, just as it ordered the destruction of the Iraqi nuclear reaction; that to oppose Jewish settlement in Judaea, Samaria and the Golan is the same as to oppose Jewish settlement in areas beyond the 1947 partition plan lines.

All this, from the mouth of the chief of staff of the armed forces in a country which supposedly observes a division between the civilian and military spheres--and in which it is the civilian authority that is supposed to call the shots, no matter what their source.

Granted, the line of division is at times somewhat confused. But it does exist. Any clear-eyed soldier can see it. The fact is, all chiefs of staff before Lieutenant General Eytan saw--and respected--it, however great their own itch for speaking out on matters of state might have been. What makes Raful so different?

The answer must be sought not in Raful himself but in the prime minister, who has consistently served as the chief of staff's protector and defender. To Mr Begin, Raful is not merely a golden-tongued orator--a veritable Demosthenes, no less--but the best spokesman for government policy. That the policy of which the chief of staff speaks is, strictly speaking, a matter for the civilian authority does not seem to trouble Mr Begin.

The only recent occasion on which the premier called Lieutenant General Eytan to order was when he appeared to speak against official guidelines on the withdrawal from Yamit. For the rest, Mr Begin has been content to allow Raful complete freedom to preach the cause of greater Eretz Yisra'el and to blast its opponents.

Next week, at the Labour Alignment's behest, the chief of staff will be told in the Knesset Foreign Affairs and Defence Committee that such spokesmanship is not a proper occupation for him. But so long as his civilian superiors are willing to share civilian power with Lieutenant General Eytan, no amount of knuckle-rapping in a parliamentary committee will make any difference.

'HA'ARETZ' Criticism

TA011457 Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ in Hebrew 1 Jun 82 p 11

[Commentary by Yo'el Marcus: "Take the Microphone Away From Him"]

[Text] Who would have believed that one of the better known actors in the country, whose limited ability to express himself and miserliness in words is a legend, would turn into one of our chief orators? Between being the "boor" in his office in the General Staff Headquarters and his tours along the borders and military bases, Lieutenant General Eytan does not stop talking, to the point where whenever the name of this splendid soldier is mentioned, the image that springs into view recently is that of a party worker in uniform standing facing the microphone. He appears so often--this time at the engineering club, another time at the commercial club, then at the lawyers' House, once at the Technion, once at Ulpan 'Aqiva, once in Sasa, once in Hazor in Galilee and especially before the forum he prefers above all others, students--that you wonder when he finds the time to deal with the matters of state security.

During the 3 years I spent in Washington as the HA'ARETZ correspondent I neither read nor heard any public statements by the U.S. chief of staff. And it is no coincidence that a poll conducted in that country revealed that only three out of every 100 people asked were able to give their

chief of staff's name. During another period, I spent 4 years in Paris; then, too, the one and only time the name of the French chief of staff was mentioned in any paper whatsoever was when referring to his appearance on the notables' platform at the 14 July march. This is normal behavior for chiefs of staff in democratic countries; that they do not jump to the head of the line so that nobody should suspect them of taking a share in the political turmoil.

Here the chief of staff is a superstar. Because of our many wars and the self-admiration for the fact that the holder of this high office is an apolitical figure, a special status is given to him and his words bear considerable weight. Our chief of staff's loquaciousness has not, then, been invented by Lieutenant General Eytan. Most of the chiefs of staff who preceded him committed this sin. In general it was a loquaciousness that caused no harm, with the exception of isolated incidents. A famous sentence in Lieutenant General Rabin's speech about the need to overthrow the regime in Syria caused the snowball to start rolling that led to the 6-Day War. When loquaciousness by chiefs of state overflowed into political lines, as happened, for example, in the time of Mordekhay Gur, the chiefs of staff were generally put back in their place very rapidly by the prime ministers or ministers of defense. And quite rightly so, the IDF's first officer must be scrupulous about his status of being above politics and he must beware of becoming like one of the party activists.

With Eytan's latest appearance, in which he rejoiced that the Iraqis were "getting it" and again proposed hitting the terrorists so that "they will stop vexing the country" the conclusion cannot be avoided that Lieutenant General Eytan has not only surpassed all his predecessors, but has also gone beyond the limit. The problem is not only one of style. As a man of the field whose language is simplistic to the point of being dumb, Eytan does not, it is true, speak in the language of Oxford. To "grab," to "rattle," to "wipe out"--these are words on a level understood by every soldier in the IDF. The chief of staff's skill in speaking is the same as that of the youth of the 1980's. Perhaps this is also the reason that he is so well liked by his soldiers. But the complaint as stated, is not about the level of Eytan's way of expressing himself and his strange imagery, but the grave contents and their public and political significance.

The chief of staff generally appears in four cloaks. Once he appears as a spiritual preacher. As such, he points out that Israel has lost its ideology and the foundation stones of the state, values of work, settlement and Zionism and "calls for a campaign of awakening in Israel." As a spiritual preacher, he expresses his concern that there is insufficient Zionism in Israel, or that there is too much freedom of the press and "things that could shame the country and make its enemies happy should not be filmed or published." Sometimes he appears in the cloak of a historical-political opinion maker, under the guise of which he analyzes the reasoning of "the Arabs" and their comprehensive intentions toward Israel. "The Arabs do not want us anywhere," or "the ferment existing in the territories and among the Arabs of Israel is the result of an artificial separation that created the two nations from one nation." Pearls of wisdom of this type are the foundation stones of his historiosophic [last word in English] thinking.

Raful's deviation begins when he appears in the cloak of a nationalist preacher and takes up extremist stands on the issues of the territories and the settlements and worsens to the point of being insufferable when he wears the cloak of the war lobbyist. [last word in English] It is enough to view his statements over the last year to see who is in fact vexing the country. Once he says that the terrorists intend to open fire and the Syrians are preparing them for this. Once he declares that the Syrian Army is built in an offensive organization. Once he stresses that Syria is considering taking steps going beyond political activity. Once he declares that the problem is the very fact of the Syrians' presence in Lebanon. More than once he speaks about the terrorists' disappearance and, particularly, about the fact that only a military blow will lead to the situation where the terrorists "will no longer exist." (And after all these declarations, the prime minister's spokesmen have the nerve to claim that it is the press that is causing a war hysteria.) By such loquaciousness, the number one soldier in the country turns into a political broker and a public activist, causing the IDF to be wrongfully mixed up in the political system, as though it was a party needing to recruit public opinion. This causes the politicization of the army.

Without deciding who is vexing us more, there is no doubt that this country will feel itself very much less vexed if the chief of staff is moved away from the microphone.

CSO: 4400/299

KIBBUTZ JOURNALIST URGES RECOGNITION OF PALESTINIAN REALITY

Jerusalem THE JERUSALEM POST in English 16 May 82 p 10

[Article by Danny Shapiro]

[Text] RECENTLY I witnessed an incident that was both interesting and revealing. In an International Relations class at the Hebrew University, the professor was giving a lecture on terrorism. To help illustrate one of his points, he read a passage from the writings of Leila Khaled, the Palestinian terrorist who participated in the hijacking of a TWA plane in 1969.

In the course of the hijacking, she ordered the pilot to make a detour: she wanted an airborne tour of Israel. Seeing the country for the first time since 1948, she was overwhelmed with emotion. The passage describing her experience includes an almost erotic longing for the "fatherland" and a profound desire to return to its fields, cities, and deserts.

As soon as the lecturer started reading this rather bombastic nationalist ode, a number of students began to fidget and giggle — a rather peculiar reaction from university students to something that was anything but a joke.

Afterwards I puzzled over this reaction. Could it have been that the narrative was so bombastic as to make it seem ridiculous and therefore laughable? Perhaps. Yet I could not help but wonder whether a similar passage from the pen of a nationalist Jewish writer (and, indeed, the passage could easily have been mistaken for the work of any of a number of Zionist poets or writers) would have evoked a

similar response. No, such sentimental longing for Eretz Yisrael would have seemed perfectly natural to most of these students.

I therefore concluded that what had caused the peculiarly tense reaction was the realization that such a thing could be written by a Palestinian. That a Palestinian terrorist could so poetically express the same spiritual attachment to this land that so many of us feel was, apparently, an unsettling revelation; and the physical/psychological response of laughter, murmuring and fidgeting was the student way of expressing that peculiar discomfort.

THIS ADMITTEDLY liberal interpretation of a rather prosaic incident points up a much deeper phenomenon in Israeli-Jewish psychology: the utter inability of so many of us to come to grips with, or even acknowledge, the profound tie which binds the Palestinian people to this land, a bond which is in many ways a mirror of our millennial longing for Eretz Yisrael.

The reasons for our inability to face this reality run deep and wide, and cannot all be touched upon here. One of the most common characteristics of nationalism is the failure to perceive "the other side" as it really exists. As a nation we in particular have been forced by our historical experience to be introspective and self-concerned; the ignorance on the part of early

Zionist leaders and settlers concerning the "native population of Palestine" is legendary.

It is likely, moreover, that our blindness towards the other side is an understandable defensive reaction to decades of unremitting Palestinian hostility to our very existence. This psychological tendency had been further aggravated by the cynical manipulation of the Palestinian issue by the Arabs and the world community in order to achieve various ignoble political ends.

None of this, however, changes reality. And that reality is that there is a Palestinian nation which loves this land every bit as much as we do and whose dreams of returning to it are no more extinguishable than ours were during 1900 years of exile. Arrogant arguments that "no nation which truly loved its homeland could let it go to waste" (the way the Palestinians supposedly did over the centuries) will not alter this painful but stubborn fact.

FOR THIS reason it is so grotesquely ironic to hear those who would like to establish a "Greater Israel" accuse the Israeli peace camp of "dangerous naivete" and of "not facing reality about the Arabs." The truth is precisely the opposite: those in Israel who recognize the legitimate existence of Palestinian nationalism are the realistic ones, whereas those who deny or shut their eyes to it are the

unrealistic ones, who live in a world of fantasy and illusion.

Coming to grips with this reality does not necessarily mean, of course, becoming a supporter of Peace Now or Sheli or Mapam. I imagine there are a number of Greater Israel supporters who have made a dispassionate assessment of

reality but who nonetheless have come to believe, for varying reasons, that the Palestinian nation should not be given self-determination — at least not in any part of Western Palestine. A lot, I imagine, depends on one's world outlook. That is, one may recognize the existence and tenacity of Palestinian nationalism but nevertheless conclude that our right to this land is not only more valid but also exclusive in relation to Palestinian rights. Alternatively (or simultaneously) one may conclude that Palestinian hostility is permanent and immutable and that therefore any thought of compromise would be suicidal folly. This conclusion reflects an extremely pessimistic (and social Darwinist) philosophical outlook.

My impression is, however, that most Greater Israel supporters, and especially those in the political establishment, are simply too blinded by their own historical experience and narrow outlook to face the fundamental reality of the Palestinian people. Prime Minister Begin expressed this particular attitude perfectly recently when he dismissed Palestinian demonstrators on the West Bank as "hooligans." Hooligans? I doubt if Begin would take too kindly the characterization of his pre-state Irgun freedom fighters as "hooligans." What he and so many others who share his line of thinking refuse to admit is that these "hooligans" are

motivated by precisely the same national dreams and desires that Begin and the rest of the Zionist movement were driven by. And while we are justifiably proud that 2,000 years of persecution, dispersion, assimilation, etc., failed to

dampen our national aspirations, many people in this country refuse to give the Palestinians the same credit; they seem to think that the Palestinians will just dry up and blow away.

ONE OF THE inevitable responses to all of this will be: "Why should we recognize them? The Palestinians are the ones who have been fanatically unrealistic, and have brought tragedy on themselves."

This is quite true; yet it is beside the point, not only because we do not want to repeat the mistakes of others, but also because the "Palestinian problem" is not just the Palestinians' problem — it is our problem too. In the end, perhaps, the skeptics will be proven right — perhaps the problem is insoluble. But that possibility should not prevent us from trying to solve it.

One of the marks of a healthy and mature nation (and political leadership) is its ability to face hard reality and act accordingly. Our refusal to recognize the Palestinian reality is a sign of weakness, not strength. A continuation of this attitude can only bring a continued spiral of war, hatred, and grief to Jews and Palestinians alike. Successive Israeli governments have brought us to the precipice of disaster. We must find a way to pull back before it is too late.

The author is a member of the editorial board of Shdemot, the cultural and political journal of the kibbutz movement.

HISTORY, PLANS OF COMMITTEE FOR DEFENSE OF THE LAND DISCUSSED

Jerusalem AL-FAJR in English 14-20 May 82 p 11

[Article by Awad Abdul Fattah]

[Text]

Reverend Shehadeh Shehadeh is head of the 16-member regional committee for the defence of Palestinian lands within the 1948 borders of Israel. The committee has been active for the last seven-years defending land against confiscation and organizing programmes and popular rallies and marches to commemorate Land Day — March 30.

Last Land Day, with the popular uprising in the West Bank at its height, the committee called a general-strike for the second time since its founding.

Q: How was the Committee for the Defence of Land formed?

A: The idea of setting up the committee was first discussed at the beginning of 1975 when the then-Israeli financial minister confiscated 22,000 dunums of lands belonging to Palestinians in the Galilee. This large scale confiscation campaign was the straw which broke the camel's back. We could no longer stand silent while the Palestinians in Israel became completely stripped of their possessions.

Twenty Palestinian figures held consultations at that time and called for a general meeting in Haifa in which many nationalists and prominent Palestinian elements were invited as well as farmers who were directly affected by

the confiscations. The meeting formed a follow-up committee headed by Anis Kardosh, a popular figure, who died shortly afterwards. I replaced him at the beginning of 1976 to continue the work.

On October 10, 1975, a popular meeting was held with people from the Galilee, Triangle, Naqab and the mixed cities taking part, and gave CDL a popular base.

Q: What were the first steps of the CDL?

A: We made contact with different parties in Israel and wrote protest telegrams to the president of the state of Israel and the Knesset demanding to meet officials to raise the issue of the land confiscations. The Israeli government refused to meet us or to recognize the committee, and even started through the official newsmedia, an incitement campaign to distort the stated purposes of the committee. They labelled us "negative" and "leftists."

This didn't impede the Committee's activities. It held several press conferences to make the public opinion aware of the reasons which induced its creation. Land confiscation, discrimination in rights against Arabs, absence of village zoning plans and neglect of the Arab villages in all fields, were the themes of the conferences.

At that time the decision for a general strike in Palestinian villages, was being discussed. The Israeli authorities began fighting the committee using its allies inside the community. On March 6, 1976, the Prime Minister's office called 23 heads of Arab local councils for a meeting in Shafa 'Amr to pressure them not accept the strike we'd called.

Most of the heads who attended the meeting were afraid of punishment by the Israeli authorities. Saliba Khamis, secretary of the committee and I decided to attend the meeting — to present our opinions. But the chairman wanted to make our entrance conditional upon our agreement to the final decisions of the meetings — a thing which was rejected by us. Outside the meeting hall hundreds people massed and chanted slogans against the heads of the local council who submitted to the authorities pressure and refused to strike.

Q: How did the CDL develop?

A: The committee insisted that the strike decision go ahead on March 30, 1976, unless the Israeli authorities cancelled the confiscation campaign. They claimed that it was not confiscation but 'development' and sometimes called it "for population distribution."

We held meetings in every village to prepare the people for the strike in which local committees for the defence of lands were also formed.

Q: What was the immediate cause for the strike?

A: At the beginning of 1976, the Israeli authorities added to the previous land confiscation another 7400 dunams in area '9' belonging to Sakhnin, Arrabeh and Deir Hanna under the pretext of "military training area" although the owners used to enter to the area and cultivate their land all the time. This is besides annexing hundreds of dunums from Rene and Meshhad to Upper Nazareth. Of course all these consecutive

confiscations campaigns came within the context of the 'Judaisation of the Galilee' plan. Israeli racist circles cannot stand the fact that the Arabs are the majority in the Galilee. In 1973, Arabs were 170,000 strong while the Jews were only 62,000.

Q: Did Israeli policy towards the issue of land change after the first strike?

A: The strike was a complete success, and caused the Israeli commissioner for the northern district, Yisrael Koenig, who is known for his hatred of Arabs, to write his infamous and racist document the Koenig memorandum which outlined a number of ways to deal with the Arabs, in order to make their life unbearable so that they would leave the country.

But we have noticed throughout the last seven-years; since the 1976 strike, the Israeli authorities have not carried out any large scale confiscations. I mean the ways have differed, and today less land is being taken in different ways. But the essence of Israel's official policy has not undergone any change. It continues to be racist and aggressive against the Arabs.

Q: Do you know much land has been taken from the Palestinians in the Galilee, the Triangle, Naqab since the creation of the state of Israel?

A: In 1948 only six percent of the lands in Palestine were under Jewish ownership. Today only five percent of the lands are in the hands of the Arabs. Confiscated lands estimated at more than 1 million dunums. The lands of the Islamic *waqf* constituted one-sixteenth of the total land, but nothing of this is left under *waqf* control.

Q: What other activities has the committee organized for the defence of lands?

A: The committee has dealt with all issues connected with lands. Three-years ago, the committee started to deal

with the problem of housing facing the overwhelming majority of the Arabs in Israel. Two-months ago, the committee organized a popular conference in Acre which discussed the problems of land and housing.

Q: What are the future plans of the committee?

A: The committee is now discussing a plan of conducting comprehensive research into the Arab villages, or a comparison between Arab and Jewish villages, to draw up ways of how to develop the Arab village in the industrial and agricultural fields for the next 50-years. Of course this plan would meet with money problems.

Q: What is the Israeli authorities attitude towards the committee?

A: The government still ignores the CDL and imposes black-out on it and its activities. The government accuses the committee of being controlled by Rakah (the Israeli Communist Party), although Rakah members are a minority in the committee, and it is open for every person who is able and who has the wish to struggle against land confiscation.

Q: How does the committee assess the strike called on the Land Day anniversary?

A: The strike was successful on the level of the 1948 area, the occupied territories of 1967 and the world. This strike has shown the complete unity of our people and their adherence to their national and social rights.

The compliance of the Arabs in Israel to the strike call and the participation of the Palestinian Arab masses in Israel in the marches and the demonstrations which were organized on the Land Day reflected the strong bonds between Palestinians everywhere. At the same time such large participation reflected the growing bitterness and anger of the

Arabs in Israel

.....

The authorities were surprised by the strike and later by the success of the strike. This, we concluded from the hysterical arrest campaign which the Israeli police launched against more than 200 people in an attempt to terrorise us and prevent us from continuing to struggle for the achievement of our demands. But no force can prevent us from keeping our national and human integrity.

CSO: 4400/298

LETTERS TO EDITOR OF 'JERUSALEM POST' ARGUE WEST BANK POLICIES

Holocaust Survivor Denounces Policies

Jerusalem THE JERUSALEM POST in English 29 Apr 82 p 8

[Text]

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post

Sir, — I am an Israeli. I was born and brought up in Germany. My parents and my sister were murdered by the Germans, along with six million other Jews. My children used to ask me how such a thing could have happened. It was never easy to explain, because it is difficult to understand it. But I tried to make some of the issues involved clear to them.

Thus, I told them that the mass genocide was not something that happened overnight. People in Germany had first to be made to accept that crimes committed in the name of the state were not really crimes one ought to resist. They had first to be made to accept that Jews were different from other people not just as one man is different from another, but that the ordinary laws of civilized behaviour did not apply in relation to them; that the "national interest" was a constitutive element of some "higher morality."

It began not with deportations and the building and operation of gas-chambers, but with "spontaneous" attacks on individual Jews, with their humiliation, with comparatively "harmless" measures, such as their exclusion from higher education. More important than anything else: it began, and it became possible, with the acquiescence of the "good" Germans.

German professors, for instance, did not stand up; they did not say

that they were ashamed of being governed by gangsters; that they were ashamed of teaching classes from which their Jewish students had been excluded; that they were ashamed of the dishonour brought upon Germany by those who abolished the rule of law. They did not stand up, then, the good Germans, and they do not know now how to answer when their children ask them: Why were you quiet then?

I am not a German professor. I am an Israeli professor. And when my children's children one day ask my children and me about what I thought or said or did in these days, I do not want to be in the shoes of those German professors.

Therefore, I want to state publicly that I am ashamed of having a government that prides itself on discovering sooner or later every Arab terrorist, but has not managed to find and punish Jewish terrorists who attack Arabs and try to kill or maim them; ashamed of a government that cannot prevent attacks on the house of an Arab woman who refuses to sell it to the settlers of Kiryat Arba; a government that — rightly — punishes Arab boys for throwing stones at Jews, but does not even attempt to punish Jewish extremists for throwing fire bombs at Israeli soldiers; a government that, rightly, punishes disobedience in the army, but allows Jewish extremists openly, in front of TV cameras, to incite Israeli soldiers to

disobey lawful orders. I am ashamed of people who make us look ludicrous and hateful in the eyes of the whole world; who stir up inter-communal hatred in our country; who use the Holocaust as a counter in their political haggling and our religion as an object of coalition horse-trading; who calumniate those who disagree with them as anti-Zionist or anti-Semitic; who do not even hesitate to attack a respected judge who dares to remind them of their duty; who try to make us into "good" Israelis who keep quiet when they see injustice done.

One day, if I live to see that day, I want to be able, together with my children, to say to my grandchildren that we did not keep quiet like those "good" Germans. And I therefore ask you to publish this letter — while we still have a free press.

ABRAHAM WASSERSTEIN
Jerusalem.

Other Letters Comment

Jerusalem THE JERUSALEM POST in English 10 May 82 p 8

[Text]

To the Editor of *The Jerusalem Post*
Sir, — I would like to start my letter where Professor Abraham Wasserstein ended his ("Ashamed" — April 29). To me, as a Palestinian and Israeli, the issue he raises is more real and worrisome.

Ever since I became aware of the complexity of my existence, certain questions kept occupying my mind: where is the voice of those Jews who have experienced real humiliation and suffering? Where are those many Jews who still and rightly so criticize the silent bystanders to Jews' massacre? How could they stand still now while others, the Palestinians, are being humiliated and are suffering? How could those who have experienced injustice be its patrons and practise it against others? How could those who were driven out of universities shut down others' universities? And who does this? A professor of Arabic and Islamic studies?

Another set of questions also keeps cropping up. It is a well known fact that Jews, because of cultural, historical and socio-political dynamics, have produced some of the best scholars and scientists recent history has known. Without objectivity and courage as basic characteristics of high intellectual functioning, they could not have done it. What happened to that objectivity? Where is that courage?

ASHAMED

Professor Wasserstein's letter reassured me somehow after all my disappointment and pessimism. Had I heard his voice long ago, it would have done wonders for me — for all of us. However, today, while my fellow Palestinians fall innocent victims, I expect from him and others more than a letter to *The Jerusalem Post* so that they can be proud instead of "ashamed."

MARIAM MAR'I

Are.

Sir, — Sincere thanks to Professor Wasserstein for his letter, "Ashamed," and to you for publishing it. It expresses the feelings of every decent Zionist left in our country.

ELSA STERNBERG-ROSEN
Kfar Saba.

Sir, — I do not agree with the behaviour and all the actions of our government, but I must ask Professor Wasserstein where is his sense of proportion when he puts the awful atrocities of the Nazis on the same level with certain actions of our government.

I am really ashamed that an intelligent Jew (he is a professor) is able to compare the Nazis with a Jewish government. He forgets that the Jews in Germany did not want to molest anybody, but only wanted to live in peace. When they tried to flee Nazi-occupied Europe in order to save their lives, the Nazis prevented them from doing so and murdered them, including all my family.

In Israel, we are surrounded by hostile neighbours who want to annihilate us, although Israel is only a small state which wants to live in peace with its Arab neighbours. We are in constant danger and under these circumstances, certain actions are sometimes unfortunately taken in self-defence. I do not agree with them and Professor Wasserstein may certainly criticize them, but he may never compare them with the Nazis' atrocities.

ADOLF-MEIR FELDMAN
Kiryat Motzkin.

Writer Elon Defends Comments on Banned Books

Jerusalem THE JERUSALEM POST in English 10 May 82 p 8

[Text] To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post
Sir, — In *The Jerusalem Post* of May 5, Doris Copperman wonders why I rushed into print about book banning on the West Bank (libelling the State of Israel) without first making an effort to check the facts. Well, I did check the facts.

The facts are that, on December 26, 1976, the IDF did indeed issue a military order banning 1,123 books including, among many others, Walter Lacquer's *Communism in the Middle East*, Alan Morehead's *White Nile* and *Blue Nile*, works by Naguib Mahfouz, Tewfik el Hakim, etc.

That order is now described by the IDF as a "mistake," which was quickly corrected. It would have been easier to believe that this was indeed so had the true "unmistaken" list of banned books not been zealously guarded until now as a military secret, but had instead been published in the *Official Gazette*.

We are now asked to believe that the mistake occurred when a list of "good" or "permitted" books was inadvertently placed in the wrong file and included in an order banning "bad" books published by the PLO, and other inflammatory material. If so, someone must have worked very hard to make the mistake, for the 1,123 books on that order are listed *alphabetically*, mixing the good with the bad, and not as two separate, consecutive lists. Moreover, someone very senior actually signed that order, undoubtedly without reading it or without reflection, thus making it into law.

One shudders at the thought that, among the many thousands of military orders on the West Bank issued without parliamentary control, orders against which there is often no possibility of appeal, there might be other "mistakes" that have not been corrected. It seems easy, on the West Bank, to legislate, easy to allow and easy to forbid. All one needs, apparently, is a stencil machine.

The adverse publicity in Israel and abroad has now at least induced the authorities to make available to the press the true "unmistaken" list of banned books which until now has been kept secret, like some extra special military installation. This is a step forward. The new *index* of some 1,100 banned books includes the obvious Nazi and Arab hate literature against Israel and against Jews, as well as a fairly large number of polemical books on politics, history, geography and economics, and literature and poetry that one would prohibit only if one hoped to impose total conformity by blocking all discussion. Israeli Arab poets are the special *bête noire* of the censors. They are outlawed almost to a man; so are Arabic translations of books by *The Jerusalem Post's* Philip Gillon, Ze'ev Schiff, military correspondent of *Ha'aretz*, and the late Yigal Allon. The reason given by the censors is that while these books are okay, the introductions written by the translators are not. I have been

given excerpts of these introductions. They are tendentious, occasionally inflammatory, mostly downright childish. Is this reason enough to ban these books? I doubt it.

Doris Copperman may find me overly sensitive to book banning. I probably am.

AMOS ELON

Jerusalem.

CSO: 4400/298

ISRAEL

CHIEF IDF EDUCATION OFFICER ISSUES INFORMATION PAPER

TA070848 Tel Aviv IDF Radio in Hebrew 0816 GMT 7 Jun 82

[Text] In the wake of the speedy and comprehensive action by the IDF Israel hopes that a new process will be created to stabilize the situation in Lebanon and make it easy for friendly elements there to maintain normal relations with us. These remarks are published in an information paper for IDF commanders issued by the chief education officer. The paper is to be disseminated among IDF commanders in southern Lebanon. Our correspondent Yinon Shenkar reports on the information paper:

[Shenkar] The IDF operation in southern Lebanon in which forces of all corps and branches are participating is intended to liquidate the alignment of the terrorist organizations. The forces are attacking targets in depth and along the fighting front. This is stated by an information paper to the commanders issued last night by the command of the IDF chief education officer and which will be distributed among the field commanders in the course of the day. The information paper reviews the series of hostile terrorist acts which led to the operation. In addition to terrorist acts throughout Israel and against Israeli representatives abroad and Jewish institutions throughout the world, the information paper mentions as reasons for the operation the expansion of the terrorist infrastructure and the incitement of residents in Judaea, Samaria and Gaza to violent acts against the Israeli authorities.

The information paper states that Israel sees the speedy and comprehensive action as the only way to restrict the PLO's power in Lebanon. Israel also hopes that following the operation a new process will be created which will stabilize the internal situation in Lebanon and make it easier for friendly elements in Lebanon to maintain normal relations with us. The IDF will take action to prevent the return of the terrorists to the region.

The information paper's general instructions for the say in southern Lebanon note that as far as possible the soldiers should refrain from harming citizens, be particularly careful to keep the honor of women and reveal an attitude of respect toward holy places and the clergy. The civilian population, the instructions say, has been subjected to difficulties for years due to the fighting.[as printed]

CSO: 4400/299

RAFAH RUNS INTO TROUBLE OVER NAME

Jerusalem AL-FAJR in English 14-20 May 82 p 13

[Article by Pierre Lemoine]

[Text]

The town of Rafah-Falastin (Palestine), located in the south of Gaza, bears a name that causes trouble in Israel. This has been noticed since April 25, i.e. since Israel returned Sinai to Egypt and since the establishment of international borders between Egypt and Old Palestine (which had this name during the era of the Ottoman Empire and the British mandate.

Since 1906, these borders extended along the Gaza Strip for 12 km. on the Mediterranean. Since 1906, these borders passed through the city of Rafah. Its residents have always made distinction between Rafah-Sinai and Rafah-Falastin. These names are written in many international documents and the Egyptian administration also uses them. It is not widely known that the Israeli occupation authorities distributed ID cards written in Hebrew with the words Rafah-Falastin, to the residents after 1967 census and during a period of curfew.

Before April 25, 1982, all of Rafah was under Israeli rule. Israeli and foreign correspondents talked about Rafah without making a distinction. But after April 25, it became necessary to distinguish between the part restored to Egypt

which has 2,000 inhabitants and the part in the Gaza Strip which has more than 6,000 residents.

For a week or two, the name Rafah-Falastin has been naturally repeated. It was mentioned in Hebrew on Friday, April 30, on Israeli TV. Israeli journalists informed AGENCE FRANCE PRESSE of the oral instructions of government authorities not to use this name.

Today, these authorities say that the name Rafah-Falastin which was used in official documents, was wrong. The Israeli army spokesman told AFP that it was a human error. The new maps have the name Rafah alone, but Palestinians have maps with the name Rafah-Falastin. They guard them with great care, because the name Falastin is not written between two brackets as a description, but there is a hyphen between the words Rafah and Falastin, joining the two words.

Despite these facts, the Israeli authorities fear the misinterpretation of this name and are preparing public opinion for the future of the Gaza Strip.

Instructions have been given to the Israeli media to eliminate the name "West Bank" from the local political dictionary and to replace it by the

Torah name — Judea and Samaria, even though this name is not geographically synonymous with the West Bank.

Even the name Falastin has been expropriated. When necessary, Israeli leaders use it as a historical term to indicate the period that preceded the establishment of the Israeli state in 1948. On rare occasions, the government of Israel and its ambassadors talk about the Palestinians as Palestinian Arabs in order to remind the world that there are Palestinian Jews. Begin himself has not hesitated to say "I am a Palestinian."

ISRAEL

COUNTRY THREATENS TO ABROGATE AIR ACCORD

TA010953 Jerusalem THE JERUSALEM POST in English 1 Jun 82 p 7

[Report by Joshua Brilliant]

[Text] Israel has threatened to abrogate its air agreement with the United States unless Washington agrees to amend it, THE JERUSALEM POST learned yesterday.

The threat, made in talks in Washington last week, is designed to pressure the Americans to restrict competition on the U.S.-Israel route by setting minimum fares and limiting the number of companies plying it.

So far the Americans have not accepted any of the Israeli demands, apparently wary of similar demands by other governments which have second thoughts about the subscription to its open-air policy. Another round of talks is scheduled this summer. A well-placed Israeli source told the POST yesterday, "The matter is so urgent that we won't be able to wait beyond the next round."

An abrogation of the agreement does not mean that all flights would stop immediately. The agreement will remain valid for 1 extra year which leaves ample time to negotiate an alternative.

The problem discussed in Washington between a team headed by Transport Ministry Director-General 'Uzi Landau and an American team headed by Richard Bogosian, the chief of the aviation negotiations division in the State Department, centred on a protocol the two countries signed in July 1978.

This protocol gave EL AL permission to fly to four American cities in addition to New York. In return, Israel had agreed that any American carrier designated by the White House may land here, fares will not be controlled and restrictions may be imposed only with the consent of both governments.

This was one of the first agreements signed in accordance with liberal U.S. air policy, designed to encourage competition. However, EL AL failed to maintain a profitable scheduled service beyond New York and reckoned its Boeing 747 was too big for the extra domestic runs.

Because of the free competition, charter companies were able to operate on the New York-Tel Aviv route during the peak seasons only, and to draw passengers away merely by lowering fares. Subsequently, the national carrier lost \$20 million in 1980 and another \$20 million last year and had to close seven of its 15 U.S. offices.

Nevertheless, the number of tourists dropped. Some 229,000 tourists came in 1977, but only 203,000 last year; this while the number of American tourists to Europe and Europeans to Israel has increased.

In appealing for special consideration, Israel said EL AL's problems did not stem from poor management, and that TWA lost money too.

But while this route accounted for 40 percent of EL AL's income, it reflected only a fraction of the American airline's revenue.

Anticipating suggestions that EL AL must just work harder to increase the number of its passengers, the government said the national carrier's planes were 75 percent full on a year-round basis, and that is high enough.

CSO: 4400/299

ISRAEL

'HA'ARETZ' DETAILS INDUSTRIAL EXPORT FIGURES

TA021038 Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ in Hebrew 2 Jun 82 p 1

[Report by Shlomo Ma'oz]

[Text] The industrial goods exports in May dropped in all the fields except for the export of metal for machinery and electronics. These findings are included in data published yesterday by the Central Bureau of Statistics. The total exports in April amounted to \$400 million, compared to \$434 million last April. The industrial exports of diamonds rose to \$290 million as against \$278 million last year marking a 4-percent rise.

This HA'ARETZ reporter notes that the exports of metal for machinery and electronics grew at a rate of some 53 percent, reaching \$137.1 million.

Israel's defense exports are included under this chapter and, in fact, it is the military exports that saved the April exports from collapsing.

The Bank of Israel report published last week stated that the 12-percent rise in the 1981 exports, excluding diamonds, can be seen as a process in which investments matured, particularly in science-based industries and in industries that chiefly export to defense, and they are largely in the fields of metallurgy and electronics.

Agricultural exports fell in April by 29 percent, down to \$48.5 million; diamond exports fell by 27 percent and reached \$61 million.

It should be noted that the data on the exports over the entire first third of the year is not yet available due to insufficient information caused by the computer center services' strike. All the same, the data indicates a serious low in the exports of diamonds and citrus fruits.

At the last weekly cabinet session Industry Minister Gid'on Pat raised a demand for increased support for exports by insuring the rate. He made that suggestion after learning that the rise in prices abroad cannot compensate the exporters as per the original government plan.

CSO: 4400/299

BRIEFS

BRASS KNUCKLES IN NABULUS--Twenty-seven spiked brass knuckles--a lethal weapon--have been captured by the Nabulus police recently. It is suspected that they were intended for use in assaulting IDF soldiers traveling along the roads of Samaria to hit them and take away their personal arms. A 20-year-old Nabulus resident was caught in possession of these knuckles, and his interrogation led the police to a Nabulus shop where another 26 such weapons were found. The police subsequently even found the shop where they were manufactured and the molds in which they were made. [Sha'ya Segal] [Text] [TA041125 Tel Aviv MA'ARIV in Hebrew 4 Jun 82 p 12]

EEC SUPERVISION--Bethlehem mayor Ilyas Frayj has proposed that the European Community should, for an interim period, take into its hands supervision of the territories administered by Israel until a comprehensive solution is found to the Palestinian problem. Frayj, one of the moderate mayors in the territories, told the REUTER's correspondent in Israel that he had raised the proposal at a meeting with Belgian Foreign Minister Leo Tindemans, who is currently visiting Israel. According to his proposal, the EEC is being asked to establish a trusteeship council that would replace the Israeli administration in the territories. Western diplomats have said that there is almost no doubt that the proposal will meet with an Israeli veto for security reasons. Neither is there any great chance that the European Community would agree to study the matter seriously. However, Frayj thinks that this is a good proposal. "If the world can study such an arrangement for the 1,800 inhabitants of the Falklands, why should this not be possible for a much larger number of inhabitants in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip?" he said. [Text] [TA011451 Tel Aviv YEDI'OT AHARONOT in Hebrew 1 Jun 82 p 6]

CSO: 4400/299

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENTS FOR 1981 ASSESSED

Amman AL-UFUQ AL-IQTISADI in Arabic No 3, 14-20 Apr 82 pp 20-21

[Article: "Financial Analysis: The Status of 1981 Economic Indicators; 60 Percent of Bank Credit for Trade, Construction; Jordan's Investments Amount to 6 Days of Oil Production; Why Currency in Circulation Dropped in 1981"]

[Text] The Central Bank of Jordan issued its statistical bulletin for the month of December, thereby providing a set of statistics and figures about economic, financial and trade developments for 1981. A review of some of these indicators and an attempt to understand their significance follow.

Money in Circulation

The term, money in circulation, refers to the total amount of Jordanian paper and coin currency that is outside the coffers of the Central Bank. This currency may be with the public; it may be in banks; or it may be stored in a safe place. Total money in circulation amounted to 420.9 million dinars by the end of the year. This is an increase of 17.4 percent. It is the smallest increase in recent years. The average annual increase in money in circulation used to be around 25 percent or more.

On the other hand, the conduct of money in circulation has been unusual this year. During the last 5 months of the year [the amount of] money in circulation declined. By the end of July there were 337.3 million dinars in circulation, but in the following 5 months that amount fell by 6.4 million dinars. This is a significant reduction, even after we take the seasonal trend into consideration.

After discounting what is available in bank coffers, money in circulation is one of the components of the money supply. Its decline means a decline in the money supply or a shift toward using checks instead of currency to do business. It could also signify the existence of an economic recession.

The Money Supply

The term, the money supply, refers in a limited sense to the total amount of money in circulation with the public and demand deposits that are held by banks. By the end of the year that figure was 701.7 million dinars. That is an increase of 18 percent over the figure for the end of last year. This is the smallest increase on record in 3 years. The rate of growth in the money supply used to exceed 25 percent.

It's been noted that the ratio of money in circulation to the money supply is still high, fluctuating around 60 percent. This is curious because banking usage and payment by check are becoming widespread. It may be that prohibiting payment of a reasonable interest on checking accounts is the reason why the public's willingness to do business by checks has been reduced. Accordingly, large sums of money stay idle in people's pockets or coffers so they can spend from that money every month.

Influential Factors

During 1981 the money supply rose by 106.9 million dinars. Of this sum 60.7 million dinars were in the form of issued currency (paper and coins), and 46.2 million dinars were in the form of an increase in demand deposits.

The Central Bank states that the factors which caused an increase in the money supply were as follows:

There was an increase of 149.5 million dinars in credit facilities to the private sector; there was an increase in credit facilities of 24.9 million dinars for municipalities and public organizations; there were 25.3 million dinars in government money orders and bonds; there was a loan to the government of 14.2 million dinars; and there was a net increase in foreign accounts of 14.8 million dinars.

The factors that caused a decrease in the money supply are as follows:

There was a 17.9 million dinars increase in government and semi-government deposits; there was an 88.2 million dinars increase in near money, that is deposit accounts, deposit accounts subject to notice and savings accounts; there was a 14.9 million dinars increase in bank capital and general reserves; and there were 800,000 dinars in other various factors.

The Kingdom's Reserves

By the end of the year the kingdom's reserves in gold and foreign currency amounted to 667 million dinars. This is an increase of only 7.1 percent over the end of last year. This is not a big increase if we were to take into consideration inflation rates in the world and the real purchasing power of that reserve.

About 10 percent of these reserves are vested in the gold that is owned by the Central Bank; 53 percent are in foreign currency held by the Central Bank; 35 percent are in foreign currency held by licensed banks; and the rest consist of the status of gold at the International Monetary Fund and special withdrawing rights issued by IBRD.

It's been noted that the Central Bank did not change its model for classifying gold and foreign currency accounts so as to comprise the assets of specialized financial institutions and some public organizations. This constitutes a non-negligible portion of the kingdom's foreign currency reserves. These institutions have significant foreign currency deposits. Foreign currency deposits of non-Jordanian residents in local banks and financial institutions must be set aside. We may not think that deposits made in dollars in Jordanian banks by Qataris or

Kuwaitis constitute part of the kingdom's foreign currency reserves. The role of these banks is to serve in the role of a middleman between Kuwait or al-Dawhah on the one hand and London on the other.

One thing that attracts attention is the fact that the kingdom's foreign currency reserves constitute no more than 6 months of the kingdom's revenues in these currencies.

The Central Bank's Budget

By the end of 1981 the Central Bank's total assets and liabilities had risen by 9 percent over the total figure for 1980. This is a modest increase according to the standards of growth in financial and economic indicators in Jordan.

The most prominent item that attracts attention in the bank's budget is the 22 percent increase in assets in Jordanian currency. These amounted to 182 million dinars. Local assets in the budget of any central bank are considered a point of weakness because they are by nature inflationary and because the Central Bank can, if it so desires, effect unlimited expansions in increasing its local assets as long as it pays the cost for that by printing new money which is done at very little cost to the bank.

Commercial Banks

The total assets of commercial banks amounted to 1.07 billion dinars. This is a 24.3 percent increase in assets over the end of last year. One of the most important features in the budgets of commercial banks is that the total held by these banks abroad underwent a 163 percent increase during the year and amounted to over 200 billion dinars. Deposits local banks have with each other--these are actually inter-bank loans--amounted to 87 million dinars. At some time during the year they had amounted to 100 million dinars. Capital and reserves amounted to 91.5 million dinars; that is the equivalent of 6.7 percent of total assets.

Bank Deposits

Total deposits in the commercial banking agency by the end of the year amounted to 977.6 million dinars. This is an increase of 21 percent over the end of the previous year. It is to be noted that foreign deposits in Jordan amount to approximately 143 million dinars for non-residents and 34 million dinars for foreign banks.

Bank Terms

By the end of 1981 total existing bank terms amounted to about 721.3 million dinars. This is an increase of 28 percent over what that figure was at the end of the previous year. This does not include the significant terms offered by the Housing Bank, the Industrial Development Bank, the Urban and Rural Development Bank and the remaining specialized financial organizations.

The public trade sector and the construction sector still get the lion's share of these terms or about 60 percent of it. The remaining economic sectors share the remaining 40 percent.

It is to be noted that the loans of specialized lending institutions amounted to 190 million dinars at the same time. These are added to the aforementioned bank terms.

Industrial Production

The record figure for industrial production rose by 12.7 percent over what it was in 1980. This is a disappointing increase. It equals half the rate of increase that was realized in 1980, compared with 1979.

What attracts attention is the fact that leather production fell by 15 percent, and production in the pharmaceutical industry fell by 1 percent. At the same time phosphate production rose by only 8.5 percent, and cement production rose by 5.6 percent. These are very modest ratios and are not consistent with the great hopes that have been placed on the industrial sector.

Price Indicators

Stock prices in Amman's financial market rose in 1981 by 70 percent; retail prices of the most important staple foods rose by 21.2 percent; and wholesale prices in the city of Amman rose by 16.9 percent. The special page for the cost of living index in Jordan was blank! If the Central Bank does not have confidence in the figure calculated by the General Statistics Department, then it has to provide a figure that can be relied upon.

Economic Accomplishment

Full statistics about the GNP, the national revenue, the balance of payments, total exports and imports and the 1981 balance of payments are not yet available. It is still too early to evaluate trends for these indicators and accordingly to measure the effectiveness of Jordan's economic achievement in 1981.

It is evident, however, that 1981 was generally a good economic year for Jordan.

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CSO: 4404/451

CHANGES IN NATIONAL CONSULTATIVE COUNCIL ANALYZED

Paris AL-MUSTAQBAL in Arabic No 270, 24 Apr 82 p 15

[Article: "Is the Consultative Council in Jordan an Undeclared Party?"]

[Text] Promulgation of the law forming the National Consultative Council and increasing its membership from 60 to 75 members was the subject of general conversation in political circles in the Jordanian capital this week. Before King Husayn's wishes on forming the council were issued, informed sources said that the purpose of increasing the number of council members was to achieve greater representation of the population in Jordan. Observers think that the purpose of the increase was to appoint more members to the council who support the government's policy. In other words, the new formation is to be tantamount to an undeclared party. This follows the emergence of political activity in Amman for the purpose of forming numerous political parties. Although council members are not elected since the council is not a substitute for a parliamentary body, King Husayn did stipulate in an earlier message he had sent to Prime Minister Mudhir Badran that council members be competent, truly representative of the people and absolutely loyal to the homeland, to the people and to the constitution.

Thirty-two persons are no longer members of the council; 43 remained members. Among the most prominent of those who are no longer members are the well-known journalist, Mr Mahmud al-Sharif, publisher of the newspaper, AL-DUSTUR and Mr Jum'ah Hamad, publisher of the newspaper AL-RA'Y. Those who retained their memberships in the council and also kept their cabinet positions are Mr 'Adnan Abu 'Awdah, minister of information; 'Ali Suhaymat, minister of transport; and 'Awni al-Masri, minister of public works.

In its new makeup the council includes four women who are in the council for the first time. Three presidents of professional associations--the associations of engineers, pharamcists and veterinarians--are also members of the council. One of the things that attracts attention about the new makeup of the council is that former council president Mr Ahmad al-Tarawinah is no longer on the council. He was appointed member of the Senate.

Parliamentary and political circles in Amman were surprised by the news that the council president had been changed and that former minister of the interior, Mr Sulayman 'Arar was appointed in his place. It is known that Mr Ahmad al-Tarawinah has extensive experience in parliamentary and international affairs. He is one of

the main figures of Jordanian politics, and he is known for his shrewdness, his intelligence and his political awareness. Observers are saying that it was al-Tarawinah's firm positions that led to his removal from his position and his replacement by Mr Sulayman 'Arar who is known for his close friendship with the prime minister and also for his flexibility and sagacity.

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CSO: 4404/451

ARAB FEDERATION OF STOCK EXCHANGES REJECTED

Amman AL-UFUQ AL-IQTISADI in Arabic No 3, 14-20 Apr 82 p 19

[Article by Fahd al-Fanik: "No to an Arab Federation of Stock Exchanges"]

[Text] We do not say no to any Arab alliance, whether it is a political alliance or one of any other kind. We usually welcome every Arab alliance, even those that the Libyan leader used to announce occasionally. Al-Qadhdhafi had announced [plans for] unity with five Arab countries in the following order: Egypt, Sudan, Yemen, Tunisia and Syria. He had also announced [plans for] unity with two non-Arab countries: Malta and Chad. However, we are most certainly saying no to the Arab Federation of Stock Exchanges.

Jordanians are not allowed by law to contribute to the capital of any company outside Jordan without obtaining prior approval from special official agencies. This would prevent Jordanians from benefiting from the liberalization between the stock exchanges.

Non-Jordanians are also not allowed by law to own stock in Jordanian companies without obtaining prior approval from the Council of Ministers. This would keep Arab financiers from dealing in Amman's financial market unless they utilize a Jordanian front to do so or circumvent the law.

From an economic standpoint it is not in the interests of Jordan or in the interests of the Arabs to give speculators and those who are looking for quick profits the opportunity to distort the healthy climate of investment in Jordan or in any other Arab country. Joint Arab economic projects must be based on clear and firm foundations. Contributions to such projects are not to be subject to sales and purchases on the stock exchange or to speculation operations. If an Arab contribution has to be singled out for a joint project, the stock exchange is the worst place for doing that.

Hence we claim that all the objectives of an Arab federation for stock exchanges, as listed by Dr Hashim al-Sabbagh to the newspaper AL-RA'Y are illegal, harmful, or unnecessary objectives. They are objectives that have no priority in Arab steps toward unity. Coordinating activity among stock exchanges is unnecessary. Overcoming the obstacles that stand in the way of Arab investment and expanding the foundation of such investments cannot be accomplished through stock exchanges. The listing or the exchange of Arab stock in the Arab homeland is against the law and against Arab interests. Encouraging joint development and

joint projects is an activity that has nothing to do with stock exchanges. Standardizing systems that are used in Arab stock exchanges may prove disastrous if it means adapting the methods that are used by some Arab stock exchanges whose operations are more like those of gambling casinos than markets for investment tools.

Therefore, to preserve Arab economic interests in general and Jordanian economic interests in particular, we are asking that the membership of Amman's stock exchange in "the club" of stock exchange directors, which is called the Arab Federation of Stock Exchanges, be suspended. It is certain that truly feasible efforts in the area of non-Arab alliances have not been exhausted.

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CSO: 4404/450

AGRICULTURAL PLAN NEEDED FOR NORTHERN REGION

Amman AL-UFUQ AL-IQTISADI in Arabic No 3, 14-20 Apr 82 pp 14-15

[Article by Maryud al-Tall: "The State's Agricultural Plan for the Northern Desert: the Time Has Come To Set Out To Achieve Food Security without Delay; the Time Has Come To Focus on Basics"]

[Text] This is a preliminary study, which is being presented to officials and put up for discussion. It is a general study whose broad outlines are being presented in AL-UFUQ for reasons that have to do with the press.

This is not a study for the farmers of our country; it is a study for the state. Amidst the deterioration of our agricultural conditions and the shrinkage in the class of farmers, it behooves the state--and no one else--to assume control of the situation. The measures undertaken by the state to take a small store keeper to court for a food supply violation to protect the urban consumer should be expanded; they should become commensurate with the volume of agricultural production and should serve the interests of both producers and consumers.

This study deals with a semi-rectangular area of land in the northern desert that extends to the south of the al-Husayniyat farm west of al-Mafriq; it extends to the north to the Syrian border; to the east, to the area of Sabha and Sabahiyah; and to the west, to the village of Surrah between al-Mafriq and al-Ramtha.

The reason why this site was selected lies in the fact that it has become an important source of products, especially vegetables, which are produced by irrigated farming. These vegetables supply the markets of Irbid, al-Mafriq, al-Zarqa' and 'Amman. In addition, some of these vegetables are exported to Arab markets and especially Iraq.

There are now 204 working artesian wells in this area; a large number of these wells is owned by farmers in the area. According to the figures of the Natural Resources Authority 49.6 million cubic meters of water are taken out of these wells every year. In addition, 7.6 million cubic meters of water are taken out of the wells of Wadi al-'Aqib and out of five wells in Sama al-Sarhan for the public sector. The public sector also takes out 1.2 million cubic meters of water from three new wells in the same area. On 12 July 1971 the Natural Resources Authority cancelled permits it had issued for drilling 52 wells. The authority claimed that the permits were cancelled to avoid increasing the number of artesian wells and to avoid increasing water pumping activity which would [adversely] affect the

ground water supply. The authority stated that the cancellations will stand until special studies on the volume of water in the area's water table are completed and the status of its real capacity is known.

Until the authority's studies are completed, it is important to give this area special priority to ensure that this water resource is well utilized and to save farmers, who spent millions of dinars on these wells, from problems of marketing [their] vegetables since vegetables provide the fastest return on their investment. We are calling upon the state to consider this region a model for a rational, programmed and well-considered utilization plan that would provide the essence of a plan with the agreement of farmers in the area for the development of water, agriculture, pastures and the environment with the agreement.

We are saying that the purpose of this integrated plan is to increase agricultural production and to direct it toward our food security, especially with regard to basic crops such as grains and feed. This can help stop our total reliance on imported wheat, and it would meet some of the country's needs for imported meat and dairy products. It is not normal for millions to be invested in the production of white meat--chicken--while we continue to rely totally on the condition and prices of the world feed market.

1. This area is about 1 million donums of arable land, with no reclamation cost to speak of required. The quantity of water that is presently available can irrigate more than 15,000 donums planted with wheat and feed. The problem of unavailable workers can be solved by using machines that are not costly. In this area we can produce no less than 50,000 tons of wheat annually. This wheat would be usually harvested in June, and after the harvest, the land and the water can be utilized to produce other vegetables that are being produced now.

The integrated development of this area in the light of what has been stated requires that the state and its various agencies, each within its own jurisdiction, execute the following steps:

A. A firm determination of how the land is to be used is to be made on the basis of dividing it for purposes of irrigation and intense cultivation. Trees are to be planted on the roads and borders of this land and a certain area is to be set aside for pasture in accordance with soil analysis studies and land classification.

B. Current land divisions are to be broken up and the land is to be re-divided without doing injustice to landowners so that a balanced, geometrical system for the land can be achieved. Such a system would help the construction of rural roads between the [various] land [divisions] and would make it easy to lay irrigation pipes or ducts beside the land without having these intersect each other or be laid down in a haphazard fashion.

C. Construction in villages and residential communities in the area is to be controlled and confined to certain areas which would take into account residential expansion and essential services.

D. Studies on crops that will be produced in these areas are to be modernized in the light of experiments conducted by the Ministry of Agriculture and by international and foreign organizations in the areas of al-Jafar, al-'Arja,

al-Husayniyah, al-Wadi al-Abyad, al-Dalil, and al-Daysah. These studies are to be modernized for the purpose of directing agriculture in this area to benefit from these experiments, to utilize them in planting cycles and to diversify farming activities instead of concentrating on a limited number of crops as is the case at present. If the state guarantees the crop, the availability of water may help the farmer turn away from the vegetables which he is presently cultivating to the cultivation of clover which has proven to be successful and profitable. To farmers, planting vegetables is considered somewhat risky because of marketing problems, control by middlemen and the total inability of the state to set down a marketing policy. Or farmers may turn to cultivating improved varieties of wheat and irrigated barley; these have been produced in Jordan at a rate of half a ton per donum in the case of Mexican wheat which was the foundation of the Green Revolution which made India self-sufficient in wheat. India, which used to be one of the countries most dependent on U.S. food aid, is now exporting some of its surplus wheat.

If the foregoing steps can be carried out quickly, the area and its water can be utilized as an integrated unit with the cooperation of the state, as a guide and a helper, and with the cooperation of the owners of the wells and the land. This cooperation may take place on the basis of cooperative societies or an association of farmers. Or it may take the form of an agricultural development company with a large capital. That company would be formed by farmers who would be assisted by the state through its special funding and guidance organizations.

If this experiment succeeds, it will constitute a cornerstone of agricultural production. Any other area which has ground water can then be developed by utilizing this experiment.

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CSO: 4404/450

INCOME TAX LAW OUTLINED

Reirut ARAB WORLD WEEKLY in English Nos 666-667; 1, 8 May 82

[1 May 82 pp 21-22]

[Text] Income Tax Law

Income taxes in the Libyan Jamahiriya are governed by Law No. 64 of 1973, which sets up a hybrid system applying differently to:

--Companies, which are taxed according to a single schedule on total income, regardless of its sources;

--Physical persons, who are taxed according to several tax schedules applicable to various sources of income. In addition to their taxes computed according to the separate tax schedules, physical persons are subject to a general tax on total income.

1--Corporate Income Tax

Taxes on corporate income are determined according to the same rules as those used to compute the taxable industrial and commercial profits of physical persons. They apply to public shareholding companies as defined by the Libyan companies code. Branches of foreign companies are subject to income taxes as soon as they make an investment (and, thus, realise earnings) in Libya.

The traditional tax for Jihad or Holy War is added to the basic tax (Law No. 44 of 1970).

Each member of a partnership is taxed on the basis of his share of the profits at the rate applicable to physical persons.

Gross income, which serves as the tax base, comprises the year's gross operating profits arising from the company's principal activity, other revenues and extraordinary income such as capital gains.

Taxable income equals the taxpayer's total income from all sources less all expenses and costs incurred in the earning and maintenance of that income, i. e.:

--Personal expenses including company contributions to employee benefit plans, such as social security plans.

--Pre-operating expenses, according to a scale set by the tax authorities, over a maximum period of five years.

--Donations to recognized charitable institutions, up to 2 per cent of total net income.

--Other taxes and royalties paid by the taxpayer.

--Uncompensated real losses; a net loss is carried forward for up to five years.

--Justifiable reserves for irrecoverable loan losses.

--Depreciation of assets (buildings, land, material, equipment, vehicles for business use) calculated according to straightline method.

Reserves for losses, doubtful loans or inventory re-evaluation cannot be deducted.

Branches of foreign companies can calculate their expenses in Libya as a proportion of their parent company's total expenses. By virtue of a decree of May 4, 1978, which instituted a dualistic tax system, the income of foreign companies is automatically evaluated at 15 per cent of their gross earnings from contracts executed on behalf of the state and publicly-owned corporations. Where actual earnings exceed this percentage (according to accounting records), the party for whom the contract has been executed must withhold taxes on the surplus amount. (The application of this decree has encountered numerous difficulties insofar as the calculation of income earned is concerned.)

The tax rate is graduated:

L. D.	%
Up to 10,000	20
10,001 to 30,000	25
30,001 to 60,000	30
60,001 to 100,000	40
100,000 to 150,000	50
over 150,000	60

Companies which have been awarded mining and oil concessions rights are under Law No. 25 of 1935 and its amendments, subject to special provisions concerning:

--the calculation of taxable profits, the deductions allowed under the law are strictly defined; in particular, such companies cannot deduct taxes imposed by another country on income earned in Libya; royalties or interest on borrowings made to finance their operations.

--the total amount of taxes owed--65% of the income. Any excess payment may be deducted the following year.

[8 May 82 pp 20-22]

[Text]

2--Taxes on Income Earned by Physical Persons

Physical persons must pay two types of taxes on their income. A taxpayer's total net income is subject to a graduated surtax levied in addition to taxes paid under Libya's various tax schedules. Tax exempt status is awarded to:

--corporations and other legal persons whose principal activity does not concern commerce, industry or real estate.

--religious charitable, sporting, social and educational institutions.

--persons whose annual income does not exceed LD 480 if single, LD 720 if married and LD 900 if responsible for children. These amounts also serve as abatements for persons in these categories with higher incomes. The deduction must be made against the tax schedule with the lowest tax rate.

--income arising from student subsidies and scholarship, life and capitalization insurance premiums and dividends earned by partners on their equity shares which have already been taxed.

Taxable profits fall into the following categories.

--Investments Yielding a Fixed Rate of Return., i.e. interest on bank deposits of all types, taxed at 15%. However, interest earned on savings accounts of less than LD 5,000 is exempt.

--Sales of Real Estate. Real estates profits of a speculative nature are taxed as industrial and commercial profits. Annual taxes on real estate income are calculated on the basis of net real estate income, equal to gross income from real estate less total outlays on the property, automatically evaluated at 20% of revenues. Such outlays vary according to whether the property is located in rural or urban areas (the latter is in addition to property in cities, considered to include rurally located housing units not forming an integral part of an agricultural enterprise.) Property serving as the taxpayer's residence or comprising part of an agricultural enterprise, including housing for workers, is not taxed.

LD	%
0 to 6,000	15
6,001 to 10,000	20
over 10,000	25

--Income from Agriculture. taxed at 5% on the basis of an assessment by an ad hoc commission (application suspended until 1983).

--Industrial and Commercial Profits, including all income not taxed under another schedule. Permitted deductions are generally the same as those allowed against corporate income.

LD	%
0 to 4,000	15
4,001 to 8,000	20
8,001 to 12,000	25
over 12,000	30

--Non-commercial Income, principally that realized by professionals. The taxpayers benefits from a two-year exemption dating from the time he begins work in Libya or abroad.

LD	%
0 to 4,000	15
4,001 to 12,000	18
12,001 to 16,000	20
over 16,000	25

--Earnings from Wages, Salaries and Indemnities. Taxes are collected on wages and salaries paid by the state and government bodies whether the recipient is Libyan or foreign and whether he resides in Libya or elsewhere. Taxes are also due on payments by companies and individuals to any person living in Libya or abroad for services rendered in Libya.

Among the types of income exempted from such taxes are social security payments, retirement pensions and severance pay. Similarly, workers' income from profit sharing plans is tax-exempt.

Foreigners in Libya on business trips (one month maximum stay) are not subject to taxes although they may benefit from this exemption only one time per year (presumably the first trip).

Taxes are withheld at the source of income.

LD	%
0 to 1,800	8
1,801 to 3,000	10
3,001 to 4,800	15
4,801 to 6,600	20
6,601 to 8,400	25
over 8,400	30

Income earned abroad, other than wages or salaries, by foreign or Libyan residents (i.e. who have spent more than six months in Libya or keep their principal establishment or place of residence there or who work abroad on behalf of the Libyan government or its bodies) is taxed at a flat rate of 15% on the condition that such income be related to the taxpayer's principal activity in Libya.

CSO: 4500/184

U.S. BLAMED FOR ISRAELI AGGRESSION

GF061023 Manama WAKH in Arabic 0910 GMT 6 Jun 82

[Excerpt] Manama, 6 Jun (WAKH)--In Qatar the newspaper AL-'ARAB criticizes the United States for supporting the zionist enemy and its hostility toward the Arab nation and its just questions. In its editorial today the paper says that from the establishment of the zionist entity in 1948 until today, the U.S. stand has been hostile to the Arabs. It is becoming increasingly fierce and dangerous day by day due to U.S. moves and policy and due to the serious and hostile alliance between Washington and Israel.

The paper asks about the Arab stand toward the U.S. support for the zionist aggression, particularly the continuing barbaric aggression against the Lebanese and Palestinian peoples. It says that the Arabs, from the ocean to the Gulf, realize the seriousness of this hostile U.S.-zionist alliance just as they realize the role Washington plays in supporting aggression. The paper notes that the Israeli planes which bombed the Lebanese villages and Palestinian camps moved on support from the United States to the fascist government of terrorist Begin. It adds: This confirms that the aggression is backed by a U.S. political stand and moves.

At the conclusion of its editorial the paper expresses hope that the Arab nation will realize the correct manner of dealing with this danger and confronting the U.S. administration as an ally of the enemy and thus an enemy of the Arab nation.

CSO: 4400/304

SUPPORT URGED FOR WAR AGAINST ISRAEL

GF071034 Doha QNA in Arabic 0715 GMT 7 Jun 82

[Excerpt] Doha, 7 Jun (QNA)--Gulf newspapers today strongly denounce the major Israeli aggression against Lebanese territory. The papers warn that this aggression is aimed at achieving Israel's hopes of liquidating the Palestinian people and imposing complete hegemony on southern Lebanon.

In Doha the newspaper AL-'ARAB calls for an Arab move to confront the serious challenges represented by the new Israeli aggression directed against the Palestinian revolution and the Lebanese people.

The newspaper expresses confidence that the Lebanese and Palestinian masses will remain steadfast in their fighting positions, confront the Israeli enemy and offer martyrs despite being subjected to the most modern and most fatal weapons of destruction.

AR-RAYAH stresses that the goal of the Israeli aggression against southern Lebanon is to impose a new status quo on the Arab region in the midst of its confusion and disunity, one that will give the entire world the only alternative of responding to the conditions of the new stage whose cards are possessed by Israel alone.

The paper expresses regret at the failure of the Arab states to support and aid the Lebanese and Palestinian peoples in confronting the Israeli aggression. It warns that if Israel finds nothing to obstruct its march toward its goals, the destiny of the entire Arab region will go with the wind.

The English newspaper GULF TIMES calls the Arab states to adopt all effective steps that will put an end to this Israeli contentiousness and preserve Arab honor, no matter how many sacrifices have to be made. The paper stresses that the Arab state can work together as one, as was the case during the October War, in order to prove to Israel that crises melt nations and make them rise up to defend their honor against the greatest dangers.

CSO: 4400/304

BRIEFS

PROVISIONAL ORDERS--Khartoum, May 9 (SUNA)--President Gaafar Mohamed Nimeri yesterday issued a Provisional Order on the Treasury Bonds Act (Amendment) 1982 to abrogate the former Act of 1966. According to the order the Minister of Finance may authorise the Bank of Sudan to issue untransferable bonds to meet the losses resulting from the varying price of the Sudanese pound or any foreign currency linked with the Bank's foreign assets. The President also issued two Provisional Orders on the National Corporation for Electricity Act, 1982 and the Khartoum Province Water Corporation Act 1982. The two orders abrogate the Public Electricity and Water Corporation Act 1978 and provide for the establishment of a National Electricity Corporation and a Water Corporation in Khartoum Province. On the other hand, the President further issued a Provisional Order on the Government's Local Loans Act (Registered Bonds (Amendment) 1982). The said order amends the Bonds Act 1964 which allows the Government to sell bonds to the Public and Financial Corporations as means of local borrowing for financing the General Budget from the individual assets and for absorbing any surplus money to reduce inflation. [Text] [Khartoum SUNA in English No 4120, 9 May 82 p 5]

AL-DAMAZIN COMPANY--Khartoum, May 9 (SUNA)--Board of Directors of al-Damazin company for Agricultural and Animal Production will hold a meeting during next Ramadan in Jeddah, Saudi Arabia, SUNA learnt. The meeting plans to discuss the Company's budget for the fiscal 1982/83, its working plan and other related issues. It has been decided that a 40,000-feddan area be cultivated this season against 24,000-feddans for last season, said the Director General of the Company, 'Abbas 'Abd-al-Majid. The cultivable area will reach 70,000 feddans in 1983/84 season when the first stage of the Company will be completed at the cost of \$42 million, he added. The yield per feddan during the current season reached three kontars of sesame, six kontars of cotton and four sacks of dura, he concluded. [Text] [Khartoum SUNA in English No 4120, 9 May 82 p 1]

MOI, NUMAYRI TALKS--Nairobi, May 13 (SUNA)--President Nimeri and Daniel Arap Moi of Kenya held a closed, 90-minute talks at the Presidency Palace yesterday morning. The two presidents reviewed the situation in the African Horn and the Chadian question. Their viewpoints were identical and they stressed the importance of adopting peaceful means in solving disputes in Africa and other parts of the World. They called for a reconciliatory round-table conference for all the warring Chadian factions. The Sudanese ambassador to Kenya, Yousaf Mukhtar, who also attended the talks told SUNA that President Moi said he is planning to ask the committee assigned to deal with the Western Sahara problem, to hold a meeting in Nairobi, Moi said he will later fix the

date of the meeting. Moi said he delegated the Kenyan Foreign Minister to consult the concerned African countries on holding an extraordinary summit conference about the Western Sahara problem, Mukhtar added. Mukhtar said President Nimeri confirmed to Moi his readiness to help him in his plan to solve the Sahara question. He said Moi and Nimeri were both satisfied at the growing good relations between the two countries and they decided to support it by regular contacts and to continue in the joint Ministerial Committee of the two countries. The next meeting of this committee is due to be held in Khartoum on May 16. The two presidents closed meeting was also attended by the Kenyan Vice-President, the Kenyan Undersecretary of Foreign Ministry and a number of ministers. [Text] [Khartoum SUNA in English No 4124, 13 May 82 p 16]

LOANS FOR FARMERS--Juba, May 13 (SUNA)--President of the Transitional High Executive Council for the Southern Region Gasmalla 'Abdallah Rassas met here Tuesday with the Regional Ministers of Finance and Economic Planning and Irrigation and Natural Resources. The meeting discussed means of organizing loans for Farmers from the Agricultural Bank's branches in Juba and Wau. Following the meeting a technical committee was set up to draw up a policy regulation loans, SUNA learnt. [Text] [Khartoum SUNA in English No 4124, 13 May 82 p 13]

SUDAN-EGYPT INTEGRATION--Cairo, May 13 (SUNA)--The joint technical committee of communications and transport between Sudan and Egypt has decided to speed up the implementation of Aswan-Khartoum road and the formation of a joint working group of engineers from the two countries, SUNA learnt. The Egyptian side will begin the work as from late next July. The committee, winding up sessions here yesterday, recommended that telecommunications contact via satellites be strengthened and that the existing three channels between the two countries be increased to 12 ones besides installation of exchange international call in Cairo and Khartoum. On river transport, the committee recommended that the Sudanese River Transport Corporation undertake the implementation of Wadi Halfa harbour and provision of necessary funds for the said project. Meanwhile, the Sudanese Minister of Transport and Communications Khalid Hassan 'Abbas and his Egyptian counterpart Salama Mutwali hailed the concern of Presidents Numayri and Mubarak over the committee's work. They also pledged to carry out these recommendations. [Text] [Khartoum SUNA in English No 4125, 14 May 82 p 5]

CSO: 4500/185

TUNISIA

BRIEFS

OIL, GAS PROSPECTING--In a few weeks, the CGG [The General Geophysics Company], the largest mission of SEREPT [French Company for Petroleum Exploration and Prospecting in Tunisia] that the region has known will arrive in Maktar to prospect for oil and gas. These are not the first drilling operations undertaken by the General Geophysics Company; rather, they have drilled throughout the region in such areas as Hrigue Balloum, near Telette El Graoua. The arrival of this mission will no doubt revive the local job market. [Text] [Tunis LA PRESSE DE TUNISIE in French 23 May 82 p 8]

CSO: 4519/199

UNITED ARAB EMIRATES

PAPERS DENOUNCE ISRAELI AGGRESSION IN LEBANON

GF060845 Abu Dhabi WAM in Arabic 0715 GMT 6 Jun 82

[Excerpts] Abu Dhabi, 6 Jun (WAM)--The local newspapers today continue their denunciation of the savage Israeli aggression against Lebanon and the intensive Israeli air raids against the Palestinians and Lebanese during the past 2 days. The papers also denounce the Arab silence on this aggression and the submissive Arab stand toward Israel and the United States, which gave the green light for this aggression.

AL-ITTIHAD says: "The aggression that took place the day before yesterday was expected and even certain to have taken place since before the Israeli withdrawal from Sinai on 25 April. It did not take place at that time because the United States was afraid it would thwart its plans in the region and lead to unexpected results."

The paper stresses that when the aggression took place this time it must have been with the full approval of the United States. This is evident from the visit Israeli Defense Minister Ari'el Sharon made to the United States and his meeting with the secretaries of defense and state recently as well as the statements made by U.S. officials just a few days before the aggression when they affirmed the U.S. stand of full support for Israel. The paper says: "The most prominent statement was made by the U.S. President himself, who said that the U.S. problem results in brief from the Arab states' refusal to recognize Israel."

The paper adds in its editorial that Israel understood this to mean that it should solve the Middle East question by gaining recognition by force, murder, destruction and killing of hundreds of Palestinian and Lebanese victims under the pretext that one of its diplomats was hit in London. The paper stresses: "Neither Israel nor the United States can verify that it was the PLO which carried the assassination attempt. They should be aware that the PLO is certainly responsible for the Palestinian people because it is their legitimate and only representative. This fact will not be abolished by thousands of air raids and hundreds of planes even if they are made by the United States."

In its editorial entitled "Lebanon's Fires Expose Us All From the Ocean to the Gulf," the ash-Shariqah newspaper AL-KHALIJ stresses that the Arabs

alone are responsible for the destruction, damage and innocent blood that was shed during the savage Israeli aggression against the Lebanese and Palestinian peoples. The paper says: "If only the Baghdad summit had held fast to its resolutions, if the Tunis summit had translated the small strategic committee on Lebanon into real action and if the special committee in charge of Lebanon had intervened to resolve the Lebanese crisis and prevent Philip Habib from putting America's nose in our internal affairs, nothing of what happened to the Palestinians and Lebanon the day before yesterday could have happened."

The paper also says: "The artillery that is roaring in the Gulf, those thousands that have been killed so far (in the Iraqi-Iranian war), this hesitation to use the petroleum weapon, and the communiques of the confrontation and steadfastness front and the statement made by its leaders-- isn't it now time to implement them all and translate them into bullets to confront the treacherous enemy?" The paper questions: "Where are those demanding implementation of the Arab joint defense agreement and where are those calling for the return of Egypt, which they continue to hail despite being chained to the Camp David agreements) isn't Lebanon part of the Arab homeland?"

AL-KHALIJ stresses that what happened in Lebanon during the past 2 days and what will take place today if a Golan brigade moves in and occupies the south expose us and expose the policy of Arab statements, our desertion of Palestine and our preoccupation in the wars of the Arab brothers and Muslim brothers too.

CSO: 4400/303

UNITED ARAB EMIRATES

PAPERS SAY ISRAELI AGGRESSION CAUSED BY ARAB DISCORD

GF070923 Abu Dhabi WAM in Arabic 0620 GMT 7 Jun 82

[Excerpt] Abu Dhabi, 7 Jun (WAM)—The newspaper AL-BAYAN, which is published in Dubayy, says that inspite of the fact that preparation for the aggression was very clear and anticipated by everyone, the Arabs did not move. The Arab remained relaxed as if the matter does not concern him. He remained neutral, waiting and observing as if what is going on does not affect one of his limbs. The body was not affected by the cries of warning and alarms which were almost cries for help by the Lebanese people and the Palestinian resistance.

In its editorial today the paper stresses that only those who were martyred were prepared for the war and also those who are waiting to be martyred. It was they who warned and gave the alarm. The paper adds that for Israel the aggression will not be a military adventure. "The planes are not falling into the sea this time but on the battlefield and their pilots are being captured. The tanks are being destroyed before the eyes of international observers. To those, and only those who are trying to inspire life in the lethargic Arab body, we say glory to you and only you."

The newspaper AL-WAHDAH also expresses regret at the absence of Arab solidarity at this highly critical and serious stage of the history of the Arab nation, especially while the U.S. support to Israeli terrorism is increasing. The paper quotes the Lebanese foreign minister as saying: "The Arab states have not even contacted us or offered us moral support. This stand is considered contradictory to Arab solidarity." The paper says that Arab relations with Lebanon are such that the Arabs are even afraid to announce their solidarity with it although the years of verbal solidarity did not liberate a single foot of territory or achieve an honorable end to the Lebanese crisis.

The paper adds in its editorial that if it were not for Arab differences and disputes which have shattered this nation and wasted its holy shrines, Begin would have never been able to humiliate the Arabs in Lebanon and Reagan would have never been able to abase the Arabs' dignity in Tyre and Beirut.

The paper says: "All means of power are available and sufficient to put an end to the enemy's insolence, protect the homeland and its shrines, and deter the United States from supporting Israel. However, the means of disagreement are also available and, although they are now well known and hated, they still are stronger than the call for unity and strength."

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ARABS CALLED ON TO CONFRONT ISRAEL

GF071740 Ash-Shariqah AL-KHALIJ in Arabic 7 Jun 82 p 1

[Editorial: "Today Is the Death of the Indecisive!"]

[Text] Today is the death of the indecisive. Today the battlefield tests all the statements, declarations and communiques which were unilaterally issued by Arab governments or issued at summit conferences. Let us give our sincere, honest and responsible opinion. Let every Arab citizen express his national position before his government. All the Arab governments must not only denounce or condemn the Israeli aggression, but give the combatants their chance to confront the Zionist enemy. The politicians, and those who make political decisions, made a lot of statements, and we witnessed weakness and differences in everything they said. As for the Arab combatants, those who are hiding their anger, they must restore their glorious national merits. This is the most favorable time for this generation to announce their position.

We call on Syria--its army, its people and its policy--to develop its defensive measures for southern Lebanon announced yesterday into a responsible national act that constitutes the beginning of a comprehensive liberation battle, and to unveil those who "fight" with words and those who only pretend to be preoccupied with Palestine.

We call on Iraq--its army, its people and policy--to divert its tanks, armoured vehicles and Iraqi troop concentrations toward the eastern front and thus support the Palestinian-Lebanese-Syrian stand. Those who defend their national independence should not forget Palestine and Lebanon.

We call on the Muslim brothers in Tehran to adopt a stance that conforms with the Muhammadan doctrine so that Tehran can send its combatants to the battlefield. This is the time for the real battle against the enemies of Islam and Arabism--the battle against U.S.-Zionist oppressive forces.

We call on the Arab Gulf countries to adopt a national political decision that treat the United States and Israel equally by using the distinguished economic gravity of these [Gulf] countries in order to force the United States to abandon Israel, which threatens international peace and human civilization.

We call on the North African Arabs to adopt a national stand by brushing aside differences and supplying the real battlefield with men who are known for their courage and national affiliation.

We call on Egypt to return to its national stands. We call on the forces of change in Egypt to adopt a national stand. We call on the current Egyptian leadership--that is, if it wants to abandon the Camp David accords and the peace treaty--to be fully aligned toward Lebanon, Palestine and Syria. This is the test position.

We call on the masses of our nation in every Arab country and every part of the world to adopt a unified position because this is the way for unity in which the genuine nationals can express their stands.

To our people everywhere, arrogant "Israel" has [word indistinct] in the belief that the Arabs are incapable of deterring it. Let us meet the glorious day with sacrifices in the same way our brethren met in southern Lebanon.

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UNITED ARAB EMIRATES

PAPERS CALL FOR END TO IRAN-IRAQ WAR

GF270756 Abu Dhabi WAM in Arabic 0645 GMT 27 May 82

[Text] Abu Dhabi, 27 May (WAM)--Two local newspapers today called for action to halt the Iraqi-Iranian war, end the U.S.-Israeli siege of the Arab homeland and devote Arab resources to liberating Palestine and preserving Arab sovereignty.

The Ash-Shariqah-based newspaper AL-KHALIJ says that achieving peace between Iraq and Iran and burying the Camp David policy will foil the U.S. and foreign siege of the Arab homeland. The paper adds that the enemies of the Arab nation have exploited the dispute between Iraq and Iran to weaken the two countries and to spread horror in the Gulf. The paper calls for peace between the two countries, neither of which has achieved victory over the other, "because such peace will foil the U.S. policy of intimidation and horrification, unify all the Gulf countries on a regional policy that keep the region away from foreign intervention from whatever source, mark a new stage of relations based on balance and common interests, and unify Arab and Islamic efforts against Israel and its allies."

The newspaper says that the decision to establish peace between Iraq and Iran is their decision, "and they have to respond to the call of wisdom and conscience and choose comprehensive peace after (?waging) this war for the past 2 years."

AL-KHALIJ calls on the Arabs to declare Camp David dead once and for all now that this policy has proved hostile to all the Arabs and to begin a new stage of unified action [words indistinct] between Israel and the United States and places Arab energies in the service of the major nation objective, "liberating Palestine and preserving Arab sovereignty."

The newspaper warns against the expansion of the Iraqi-Iranian war and against those Arabs who recognize Israel or who justify U.S. expansion of the Camp David policy. "The Arab citizen is free of this [word indistinct] which is surrounding him from four directions," the paper says.

In its editorial AL-FAJR warns against the continuation or expansion of the Iraqi-Iranian war and against possible foreign intervention in the region under the pretext of preserving interests, thus posing a threat to

the entire region. The newspaper calls on the leaders of the two countries to quickly decide to stop this war and begin negotiations to resolve their differences. "The situation is serious and heralds disasters bigger than those which have taken place during the past 20 months. The issue is no longer confined to the idea of who will be victorious because intervention by a superpower will not be in the interest of anyone but will be devastating to the resources of the countries of the entire region," the paper says.

AL-FAJR continues: "The losses that have been inflicted during the past period are immense and astonishing. Our peoples needed every effort expended in this war and every dirham used for arms. It is more important to pay attention to development and progress which our peoples need. The region has had more than enough conflicts and destruction, God knows, and it would be better for us to pay attention to construction."

In conclusion the newspaper says: "The righteous faith of Islam, which is the religion of all of us, calls on us to seek peace and to be inclined toward settlement. We have to tread the path to benefit our peoples and to protect our region from ambitious foreign powers."

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UNITED ARAB EMIRATES

DAILY CALLS FOR END TO IRAQ-IRAN WAR

GF041222 Abu Dhabi WAM in Arabic 0745 GMT 4 Jun 82

[Text] Abu Dhabi, 4 Jun (WAM)--AL-ITTIHAD calls for an end to the fighting between Iraq and Iran as soon as possible. The paper urges the Islamic Good Offices Committee to continue its efforts in order to succeed in putting an end to the fighting and placing the two Muslim neighbors on the road to achieving a just and complete settlement of their conflict.

In an editorial today AL-ITTIHAD says: "Ending the fighting and stopping the war for a day, a week or a month in order to prevent the shedding of the blood of Muslims, the wasting of their weapons and the dissipation of their resources has become an urgent demand that brooks no postponement or procrastination."

AL-ITTIHAD asserts that stopping the war is in itself a "just demand whatever the views of what is right and what is wrong and whatever we think of the war, and whatever the reasons and motives for kindling the war and whoever was responsible for inflaming it."

Referring to the Good Offices Committee which will resume its meetings in Jidda tomorrow to renew the mediation between Iraq and Iran and to the call made by more than one party to end the war, AL-ITTIHAD says: "The call to end the fighting is an Arab, Islamic and nonaligned call. Even the foreign parties which benefitted from the war and benefit from its continuation could not but respond to the call to end the fighting."

So that the implementation of a cease-fire will not be delayed, AL-ITTIHAD calls on the Good Offices Committee "to hold continual meetings without recess until it succeeds in ending the fighting and places the two Muslim neighbors along the path of a just and complete settlement of their conflict. Only then will these endeavors have played a role in serving Muslims in deed and not merely by words and meetings."

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UNITED ARAB EMIRATES

POPULATION MOVING TOWARD MILLION

GF291038 Dubayy KHALEEJ TIMES in English 29 May 82 p 1

[Text] The UAE is likely to have a population of 1,040,000, including a work force of 529,000 men by the end of 1985.

By the same period, the gross national product will have reached Dh 155.266 billion, according to statistical figures released by the Ministry of Planning.

These figures have been prepared in order to predict the economic trends in the country.

According to the ministry, the country's national income for 1985 is estimated at Dh 125.180 billion while for the current year it is Dh 121.220 billion.

Government spending is estimated to reach Dh 21.468 billion compared with Dh 12 billion in 1980 and domestic spending at Dh 28.658 million compared with Dh 18.968 billion for the same period.

The data also indicates that imports of goods are estimated to reach Dh 28 billion compared with Dh 25 billion in 1980 and exports Dh 87.507 billion compared to Dh 84.512 billion.

It is predicted that the wage bill will total Dh 23 billion. It is however likely that there will not be any increase in the trade balance in 1985. It is expected to reach Dh 50 billion and this is likely to equal the surplus achieved in 1980.

The per capita share in the GNP in 1985 is likely to be Dh 110,000 as against Dh 107,000 in 1980 and the individual share in the national revenue Dh 121,000 against Dh 95,000.

The per capita share of the total consumption in 1985 as against 1980 is projected at Dh 49,000 and Dh 20,000. It is estimated that the individual share of imported commodities in 1985 will reach Dh 26,000 against Dh 22,000 and of exported commodities Dh 84,000 and Dh 81,000.

The study also projects an annual per capita income of Dh 36,000 against the present Dh 26,000. -- WAM

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UNITED ARAB EMIRATES

PAPER ON POSITION OF EEC COUNTRIES

GF031720 Abu Dhabi WAM in Arabic 1424 GMT 3 Jun 82

[Text] Abu Dhabi, 3 Jun (WAM)--The UAE paper AL-ITTIHAD warns the EEC countries not to abandon the policy they adopted on the Middle East issue in 1973 which crystallized in the Venice Declaration. In its editorial today the paper calls on the Arab countries to move quickly so as to block any European withdrawal from the Venice Declaration. The paper points out that this can be done through dealing with these countries in the same way Israel deals with the FRG foreign minister and the FRG chancellor, that is, by using the weapon of interests. The paper adds that without this action Europe will change its stand in the interest of the Israeli enemy and against the Arabs' interests.

The paper says that the visits by five EEC foreign ministers to the Zionist entity "were not routine visits because they were consecutive and took place at the time of a strong European call for reconsidering what is known as the Venice Declaration." The paper indicates that the statements made by the foreign ministers of Italy, France, the FRG, Britain and Belgium following their visits to the Zionist entity indicate that "reconsideration has begun or has already taken place so that the EEC will shortly retract its support--which was included in the Venice Declaration--for the Palestinian people's right to self-determination and the PLO's participation in any settlement negotiations."

The paper refers to the latest statements by the current chairman of the EEC Council, (Leotend Manz), in which he talked about Europe's support for so-called autonomy "after defining its context, according to him, instead of supporting the Palestinians' right to self-determination." The paper also refers to his note on the participation of the Palestinians of the occupied territories in the search of a settlement "instead of what is stated in the Venice Declaration on PLO participation."

The paper calls on the Arabs to force Europe not to retract the position it announced earlier by using its interests against it.

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OIL MINISTER VIEWS OPEC DIFFERENCES, OIL WEAPON

GF281402 Ad-Dammam AL-YAWM in Arabic 27 May 82 pp 1, 19

[Sulayman Aba Husayn dispatch from Abu Dhabi]

[Excerpts] Dr Mani' Sa'id al-'Utaybah, UAE petroleum and natural resources minister, has said that the GCC was established to implement the common desire of the Gulf people, who are citizens of one region and whose political, economic and social situations are identical.

In a statement to AL-YAWM, Al-'Utaybah said: Due to this identity of situations, it was natural to lay out an organizational framework for the fateful fraternal relations linking the Gulf countries, and that is why the GCC was established.

Dr Al-'Utaybah emphasized that there was a psychological factor involved in the oil glut problem. He said we, the oil producing countries, became aware of the fact that there was an inclination to weaken OPEC and that this came from within OPEC itself as well as from external plots against OPEC.

Al-'Utaybah said efforts to weaken OPEC are being manifested by encouraging and escalating political differences and tying them to economic issues, despite the fact that the OPEC members and conferences try to shun these differences to stay removed from outside political developments.

He added: Moves to disintegrate the organization from within did not succeed. However, we must admit that various political ideas have started to influence the organization and that is why some analysts began to believe it would collapse. What happened is contrary to this because these political currents have failed to affect OPEC unity.

On using oil as weapon, Al-'Utaybah said: Oil is one of the economic and political weapons and it will remain removed from the changes currently taking place on the commercial level. He said: We must not harbor any fear that this weapon has lost its effectiveness forever, because this weapon is in our hands and what is important is to know how to use it and against whom. We must have a clear vision about the timing for the use of this weapon. We must also put forward a definite vision to determine enemies and friends; then we will be able to say that oil is an economic and political weapon and that it has not lost its effectiveness.

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UNITED ARAB EMIRATES

ADNOC MANAGER ON CHANGING POLICIES

GF290437 Kuwait ARAB TIMES in English 27 May 82 p 6

[Text] Kuwait (KUNA)--The general manager of Abu Dhabi National Oil Company, ADNOC, says that his company has reversed the previous policies of oil companies aimed at depleting the country's oil fields rapidly by creaming off the best of the oil, and that ADNOC is currently pursuing a sensible development of oil reserves, maximizing the rate of recovery and spreading production over-time.

"We were able to persuade our partners of the dangers inherent in their policies and of the need for a rapid change," Dr Mahmud Hamrah-Qruha said in an interview with the Arab OIL AND GAS magazine.

He said that his company's optimization plans were well advanced in the offshore fields, but the development of the onshore fields is only at a preliminary stage.

"Selectivity is our guiding principle for the development and production of our oil reserves, whereby each reservoir in each field is treated as an autonomous unit and its development is planned on the basis of its particular characteristics," he added.

Dr Hamrah-Qruha said ADNOC's activities had by no means been limited to reorganizing oilfield development and safeguarding its interests in producing fields. "It has also sought to set up new consortia, such as the development of the upper Zakum field in which ADNOC has an 88 percent share in a joint company, ZADCO, which it created in 1977 with the Japanese firm JODOCO," he added.

He said the upper Zakum field, the development cost which is estimated at 4.8 billion dollars, will end up gradually with ultimate production of 500,000 barrels per day by 1985.

The ADNOC executive said that while his company's first priority was to manage the country's oil and gas resources and to oversee their development, its priority had been to use the resources as a means of developing the international economy through an industrialization process based on oil and gas.

"ADNOC has thus become an industrial company. We have initiated a number of industrial development projects, such as the construction of local refining facilities and the installation of facilities for the recovery of associated gas," he added.

GAS AND OIL magazine said that Abu Dhabi's most important achievement in 1981 was the completion of two major industrial oil projects, namely the Ruways refinery and the Liquified Petroleum Gas Production Complex, also located at Ruways.

Dr Hamrah-Qruha said besides the Ruways refinery which came on stream in June 1981, with a capacity of 120,000 barrels a day, his company has decided to enlarge the capacity of the Umm An-Nar refinery to 750,000 barrels in order to cater to the consumption of Abu Dhabi and other emirates. He also revealed that his company had postponed plans to enlarge the Ruways refinery to 30,000 barrels per day "in view of the situation in the international oil market."

The ADNOC chief said this his company set up a consortium called GASCO in association with Shell, CFP and Partex to develop associated gas for export. He added that the first exports of butane, propane and condensate from the 2.1 billion dollar project left Abu Dhabi for Japan in 1981. He said that ADNOC was also setting up another consortium for the production of petrochemicals, particularly ammonia and urea.

Turning to oil exploration, Dr Hamrah-Qruha said that his company was also undertaking a major exploration programme through a number of consortia.

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UNITED ARAB EMIRATES

BRIEFS

ABU DHABI FUND--Abu Dhabi, 2 Jun (WAM)--Thanks to the instructions of Shaykh Zayid Ibn Sultan al Nuhayyan, the activity of the Abu Dhabi fund for Arab economic development has expanded in the past 10 years. Its capital increased from Dh 5 million in 1971 to Dh 4 billion in 1979. This was reported by Shaykh Surur Ibn Muhammad, chamberlain of the president's court and deputy chairman of the fund board of directors, in a speech on the fund's 10th anniversary. He said the fund has financed 76 projects in African and Asian countries. Loans granted by the fund mounted to Dh 3,478,300,000. [GF021710 Abu Dhabi WAM in Arabic 1710 GMT 2 Jun 82 GF]

ILO SESSION--Geneva--The UAE minister of labour and social affairs, Mr Sayf al-Jarwan, who has been elected chairman of the government group at the 68th session of the International Labour Organisation (ILO), chaired the second session of the group here yesterday. The meeting, attended by delegates representing 143 governments, appointed 20 representatives to the committee on apartheid. Seven members were from Africa, four from Asia, five from Europe and four from Latin America. At the conclusion of the meeting, Mr Jarwan condemned the policy of the South African racist regime and hoped that the conference would come out with recommendations that would help to eliminate the discriminatory policies from the world. [Excerpt] [GF041030 Dubayy KHALEEJ TIMES in English 3 Jun 82 p 1]

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